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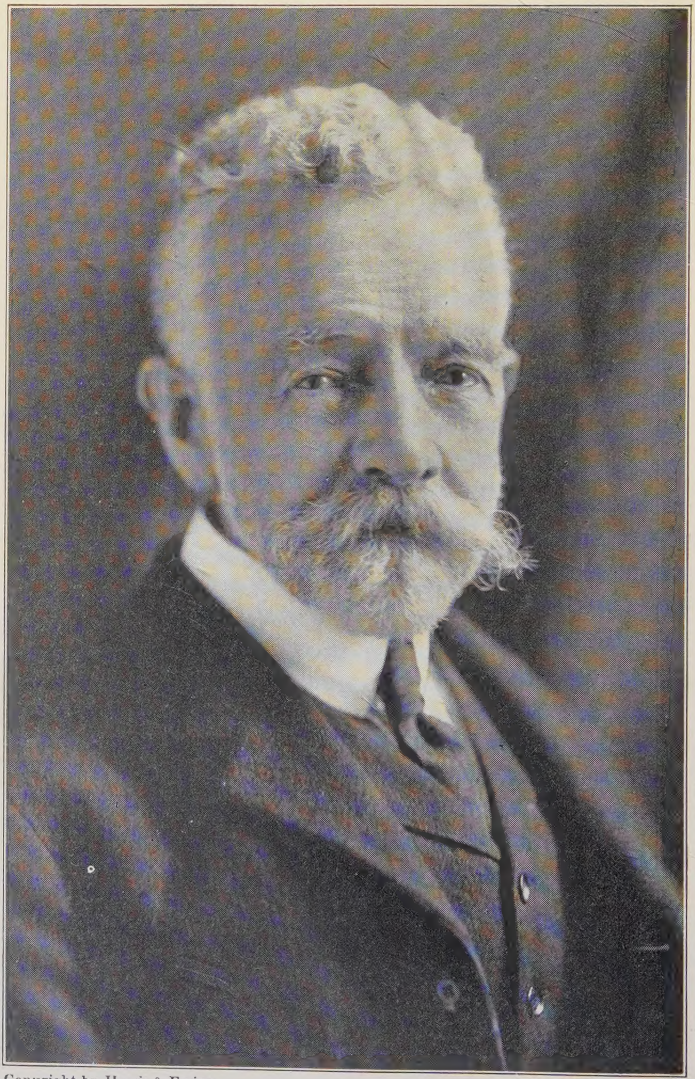
HENRY CABOT LODGE

"The highest praise we can bestow upon any man is to say that the story of his life, of what he said and what he did, of what he was and how he took part in the life of his time, is his best eulogy." —*Senator Lodge in his Memorial Address of Governor Greenhalge.*



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HENRY CABOT LODGE

HENRY CABOT LODGE

THE STATESMAN

BY

CHARLES S. GROVES

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FOREWORD

I KNEW Henry Cabot Lodge for nearly twenty-five years, casually at first, as the political writer knows most men in his immediate sphere, and more intimately as our paths converged. On my part respect grew into admiration and affection as the years passed. The newspaper profession has its compensations. One of the greatest that has come to me is the friendship and the opportunity for association with this statesman and scholar, so misunderstood by those who knew him only through current and oftentimes cynical newspaper comment, but who was not misjudged by those who knew him best. He had the traditional reserve of his race and of the environment in which he was reared and this heightened a popular fiction regarding him.

He was a dramatic and powerful figure in the political life of the nation for a quarter of a century. He occupied in the Senate the seat of John Quincy Adams, of Webster, and of Sumner. His reputation and fame

were as far flung as theirs. His leadership added to the prestige of the Commonwealth he loved. His career was a large part of the history of his time.

It is not the purpose of the writer of this book to follow Senator Lodge, step by step in biography, from his entry into public life through the years. To do that would mean writing a history of the country since the early eighties, a task for the historian. My purpose is to present as adequately as I may the Henry Cabot Lodge whom I, as a newspaper man and as a politician, also, knew in the political life of Massachusetts and Washington. The man I knew was sincere, simple and kindly. He was loyal and helpful in his friendships and honest and sympathetic in his attitude toward his countrymen. That he was also wise and courageous and patriotic in the service of his country, the record stands for all who care to read.

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HENRY CABOT LODGE

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CHAPTER I

Early Life and Influences

The atmosphere in which Henry Cabot Lodge lived as a boy was, as he has said in his "Early Memories," quite different from anything found today. He was born in Boston, May 12, 1850, at the dawn of a time when the movement for human rights in political life was well on its way, though hardly realized either in this country or abroad. The stability of his home environment remained untouched by the social innovations which were invading the world. His surroundings were very like the surroundings of fifty years before. It was as if everything were standing still to gather force for the great changes to come in political, social and material affairs.

Boston in the first ten years of his life was still a village where boys of a neighborhood

played and fought with boys of other neighborhoods. A town with an intimate personality which a boy could know throughout — wharves, Common, and city streets.

Then there was Nahant in the summer, which he seems to have loved best because of the sea, as people, everywhere, who have lived near the sea. Boston gave the opportunity to know a city waterfront and ships, for his grandfather and his father were merchants and shipowners whose counting room and granite warehouses are still standing. "And now they call John Ellerton Lodge," exclaimed Benjamin F. Butler summing up the testimony in an admiralty case in which the boy's father was a witness. "His ships crowd the China seas!" So the boy himself knew intimately the clipper ships of that day and imbibed the romance of the sea traditions of his country. Undoubtedly his familiarity with the port of Boston stimulated his activities in behalf of the Merchant Marine and the American Navy.

At Nahant he lived by the ocean and swam and sailed boats and hunted for buried

treasure; the latter with an apparently enormous intensity, for long afterwards he remembered his adventures, or near adventures, in great detail. He never entirely got away from those youthful associations, and the impressions of the happy, natural, boyish years remained to influence his entire life.

He was encouraged in outdoor sports and athletic exercise. His father had a stable of horses and the boy learned to ride early. When he was eleven years old he had a horse of his own and in time became skilled in horsemanship. This was an accomplishment on which he and Theodore Roosevelt years afterwards found themselves exchanging more or less expert views in the lighter passages of their long and intimate correspondence. The English coachman who put up some bars in a lane behind the home in Newport where the Lodge family spent the summer of 1861 and who taught him to jump he always held in grateful remembrance.

The theatre had for him a great attraction in his boyhood years. Before he reached the

age of ten he had been taken to the old Boston Museum of which he confessed tender recollections. His father became President of the Board of Directors of the new Boston Theatre, and he and his companions had unusual opportunities for seeing the play, not only over the footlights, but from behind the scenes as well. The plays and the actors of the period were as familiar to him as were the books in his father's and grandfather's libraries.

His people had been prominent in the life of the nation for generations. He was related through both his father and his mother, who came of old New England families, to many of the cultured and famous men and women of that part of the country. The boys and girls with whom he was thrown in contact were the sons and daughters of his parents' friends, and his world, although narrow in that respect, was broad because of the interests of his family and their intimates.

He entered Harvard from private school, after a year abroad, and received his degree in 1871. His four years at college were

happy and normal. Graduating near the middle of his class he seems to have been without ambition to distinguish himself either in his studies or in any of several branches of athletics in which he might have become proficient. His recreation he found on the river, and in the gymnasium; from boating, sparring and single-stick he derived wholesome habits of exercise and these diversions he found much more profitable than billiards and cards to which he then gave so much attention that he cared nothing for them afterwards. In his college life, as in the active years that stretched before him, his greatest enjoyment was in the friendships he made. His was a singularly friendly nature and this quality of liking people and wanting to be liked himself was as characteristic of his later as it was of his earlier years.

The day following his graduation he married Anna Cabot Mills, a daughter of Rear Admiral Charles H. Davis, U. S. N. The wedding took place in the eighteenth-century Episcopal church, which faces the college yard and the Common, and from

which he was buried more than a half century later. Following his marriage he traveled in Europe, returning home in August, 1872. Although he had no intention of becoming a practising lawyer, that autumn he entered Harvard Law School, from which he was graduated in 1874 and was admitted to the bar. These years of his life were probably the most difficult because indefinite as to purpose. His interest in history had been aroused at Harvard by Henry Adams, who had conducted a class in mediæval history and out of that grew a desire to read history and to write it. He studied and wrote for a year with apparently nothing in view as far as he could see when, in the summer of 1873, Henry Adams offered him the position of assistant editor of the *North American Review*, of which Adams was editor. Senator Lodge has said, "That nothing ever gave him such joy as that offer from Henry Adams." It was the beginning of his very active, useful life.

He continued to live at his mother's home, Beacon Street, Boston, where he met the foremost men of his day. He had

the advantage of a handsome house and a fine library and found himself in the center of the best intellectual society. Charles Sumner, as long as he lived, made frequent visits both in Boston and Nahant. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Longfellow, Francis Parkman, Charles Francis Adams, Wendell Phillips, Lowell, George Bancroft, Agassiz, and Professor Pierce of Harvard, were also frequent visitors. Friends nearer his own age were John and Charles Adams, John Gray, Wendell Holmes and Henry Higginson. His contemporary circle included Russell Gray, Brooks Adams, Lucius Sargent and Henry Parkman. The ease of his early life is enviable. He came through it unspoiled.

For a few years he wrote on historical subjects. His articles were published in the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Nation* for the most part. He lectured at Harvard for three years on American history, and published the "Short History of the English Colonies in America" and the "Life and Letters of George Cabot."

It was with a fortunate background that Henry Cabot Lodge entered the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1880.

CHAPTER II

The Entry into Politics

I

Early Defeats and Victories

After all, the seclusion of his youth must have been fictitious, for it was a long stride, much further then than today, from the Back Bay and Harvard University into the unexplored field of practical politics. He seems not to have taken it easily or without hesitation, neither did he yield to the temptation, born of early failures, to retrace his steps. At the outset he faced the double problem. He had first to break through the barriers that protected his caste from the outside world, next, to force his way into the game of politics. He succeeded in freeing himself of the restraints and limitations of his exclusive world; the defenses of the politicians, who made the rules and selected the players, finally gave way. He was accepted and his career fairly launched.

To many of the intimates of his youth the plunge into politics was never wholly understood.

His own recollections, as he set them down, seem to furnish a clue. In his boyhood it was the virile things that made the deepest and most lasting impression on a receptive mind and emotional temperament. The boy in Boston heard the echo of the guns that thundered at Fort Sumter. He saw the first of the Massachusetts troops, the 6th Regiment, pass in review before Governor Andrew. The carefully reared youngster had lived in an atmosphere calculated to appeal to a far less responsive imagination. The stirring events of 1861 to 1865 fired his patriotism and stimulated an interest in his country that in after years surpassed every other interest in life.

It is a little strange that his feet at first were set in the path that led to the cloistered life of the scholar and man of letters. The heroes of his youth differed in no wise from those worshiped by other red-blooded American boys of his day whether they lived in the Back Bay or the North End.

They were men of great physical prowess such as prize fighters, athletes, riders as well as adventurers by sea and land.

When Mr. Lodge decided to enter public life he made known his aspiration with characteristic directness. Much of his boyhood had been passed in Nahant and when he became of age he established a voting residence in the town and thereafter made it his permanent home. In the state election of 1879 he appeared as a candidate from this Essex County district for the legislature. He is recalled as timid, shy, and retiring but with a fixed determination to make of public life a career. He had the friendship of older men familiar with the district and was well advised in his initial venture into politics. His first nomination came out of a dead-locked convention and it is said that the committee who informed him of his nomination did so with some misgivings. Mr. Lodge, however, was confident of election. The day following the notification he began a campaign that had its reward in a victory at the polls, unexpected, apparently, by almost everyone but the candi-

date himself and his more ardent supporters. His political ambitions were further gratified by a reëlection in 1880, and in that year he was chosen as a delegate from the Fifth Congressional District to the Republican National Convention. Later, also, he was elected to the Republican State Committee and at the age of thirty-three was its chairman confronted with the herculean task of "redeeming" the State from what was commonly called in those days "Butlerism."

In the meanwhile, however, he was to know the discouragement of successive defeats. He failed of election to the State Senate, of a nomination to Congress, and then of an election to Congress. He was chagrined and disappointed. Long afterward he distinctly recalled his attitude of mind at that time. He felt that for him politics was a closed book, that his political career had come to a definite end. He was quite reconciled to return to the profession of literature and to abandon politics. But a unanimous nomination for Congress came to him in 1886 and his election followed.

Thereafter he was not to know defeat in any election in which he was a candidate, either before the legislature or the people of his own State. It may be said that when he was a candidate the Republican party was always dominant; but other men of strong character and conspicuous abilities who, as candidates for high office bore the label of the Republican party, found that alone an insufficient safeguard against defeat. If his service did not at all times meet the approval of all the people of Massachusetts, there was always, on every occasion when he was standing for election, in the legislature or at the polls, a majority who registered their approval of his public acts.

Mr. Lodge made his first canvass for election to Congress in the autumn of 1884, having secured the Republican nomination in the then Sixth Massachusetts District. This district included Nahant and Lynn and one or two other places in Essex County, some contiguous territory in Middlesex County, the Charlestown wards of Boston and also Chelsea, Revere, and Winthrop in

Suffolk County. His Democratic opponent was Henry P. Lovering of Lynn, an old soldier who was the sitting member, a shoemaker with a loyal and considerable following, particularly in his home city. Mr. Lovering also had the support of the People's party and the combination proved too powerful to be overcome. The young scholar in politics made a good fight, but he was defeated in a total vote of thirty thousand by but two hundred and twenty-five.

Two years later, he tried again with better success. He had seven hundred and thirty-eight more votes in the election in 1886 than Congressman Lovering and took his seat in the Fiftieth Congress December 5, 1887. He was reëlected in 1888 to the Fifty-first Congress by a majority of something more than five thousand over the Democratic candidate. In the autumn of 1890 he was a candidate for reëlection, his opponent being Dr. William Everett of Quincy, drafted from outside the district by the Democratic organization to make the fight against the ambitious young statesman, who had already crossed swords in

Congress with some of the best debaters of the time. He defeated the eccentric Quincy educator, with a thousand votes to spare. In 1892, when Doctor Everett once more attempted to gain the Congressional seat in the Sixth District Mr. Lodge had a safe margin of two thousand six hundred votes.

He entered Congress with very definite and progressive views, although at that time the term had not acquired a popular flavor. At a dinner of the New England Society in New York, December 22, 1884, he stated his creed. Legislation, he said, could not change humanity or alter the decrees of nature, but it could help the solution of grave problems. Practical measures he suggested included hours of labor, emigration from overcrowded cities to the lands of the West, economical and energetic municipal governments, proper building laws, the rigid prevention of adulteration in the great staples of food, wise regulation of the railroads and other great corporations and, above all, a fair and full share to labor of the profits earned by the combination of capital and labor. That was in 1884; three

years before the first interstate commerce act was passed; six years before the Sherman anti-trust act was passed; twenty years before the pure food bill became a law.

II

Devotion to Party

Having made his choice of political parties his allegiance remained fixed. Principles, not men, guided his course. A stable and efficient public service through permanent and responsible party government was for him the ultimate achievement — the end desired and to be attained. Adherence to this view kept him "regular" in the Blaine campaign of 1884 when loyalty to party cost him the friendship of many of his early associates and brought upon him the open censure of a large and influential group in Massachusetts and elsewhere who formed the backbone of the anti-Blaine or "mugwump" movement. They were not of sufficient numerical strength to defeat him in any election, but for years this element pursued and vilified him. "They will never

forgive you for deserting desertion," John Hay said to the Senator when the anti-Lodge sentiment was still running strong. This influence engineered a cabal which was successful in preventing the reëlection of Senator Lodge to the Board of Overseers of Harvard. His alma mater withheld the coveted honorary LL.D. until long after it had been conferred by other universities.

It was not until 1903 that the initial step was taken which resulted in the degree being awarded the following year. In the summer of 1903 he sat as a member of the Alaskan Boundary Commission, the session being held in London. Joseph H. Choate was United States Ambassador, and was much surprised to learn that Harvard had not bestowed the degree. "I do not understand it," said Mr. Choate. "That will have to be remedied." Whereupon he wrote to one of the university authorities expressing not only surprise at the failure of the college to confer the degree on one of its most distinguished sons, but also his own opinion of that neglect. "I am very much surprised to learn that the college has not

conferred the degree of LL.D. on Senator Lodge," wrote the Ambassador. "This is no reflection on Senator Lodge; it is a serious reflection on the college."

Between the ruling powers at Harvard and Lodge there was all the bitterness of a feud. When the degree was finally conferred by President Eliot it was in terms that constitute a masterpiece of equivocation: "Henry Cabot Lodge, essayist, biographer, jurist, member of Congress at thirty-seven, now Senator from Massachusetts for eleven years, with long vistas of generous service still inviting him."

The second and greater test of allegiance to party came in 1912 when the man the Senator loved best and admired most led the political movement that threatened the Republican party with dissolution. As between President Taft and Theodore Roosevelt there was never any doubt as to where the sympathies of Senator Lodge were. But very early in this contest Mr. Roosevelt, in a speech at Columbus, Ohio, declared for the recall and review of judicial decisions, and Senator Lodge at the

State Committee headquarters did not conceal his disappointment. "We can't be with Roosevelt now!" he exclaimed. The Senator did not go to the national convention in 1912 nor did he take any part in the primaries that sent an equally divided delegation from Massachusetts to Chicago. After the nomination he was on the stump for Taft in a campaign hopeless from the moment the third party organized and, with Roosevelt at its head, made certain the election of Woodrow Wilson and a Democratic House and Senate.

CHAPTER III

First Election to the United States Senate

Before Mr. Lodge had taken his seat in the Fifty-third Congress, to which he had been elected in 1892, Senator Henry L. Dawes announced his retirement from active political life. Mr. Dawes had been in the United States Senate since 1875 and had represented Massachusetts with distinction in both branches of Congress for thirty-four years. He probably could have been elected again but he seems to have acted on the sage advice he gave the brilliant and lovable George P. Lawrence on his first election to Congress in 1898. "You will have a fine career," predicted ex-Senator Dawes. "But don't stay too long! Get out, George, while they are saying, 'Why do you?' instead of 'Why don't you?' "

The legislature of Massachusetts, on January 17, 1893, elected Henry Cabot Lodge to the Senate. Mr. Lodge resigned

his seat in the House, March 3, 1893, and on March 4 entered the Senate. He was nearing his forty-third birthday.

During his service in the House he had sponsored the Federal Elections or "Force Bill," so-called, that created a bitter debate on sectional lines. This measure was reported by the select committee on the election of President, Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress of which Representative Lodge was chairman. Briefly, it authorized Federal supervision at polling places and was designed to prevent the suppression of the colored vote in the South. The bill was denounced as a Republican and partisan measure and caused a great deal of discussion and comment throughout the country. Its sponsor was anathematized in the Southern States. There was much to be said in support of the contention of the opponents of the measure that its effect would be to place the election machinery of the country in absolute control of the Republican party and in that respect was a political measure of no small importance. That it proposed to involve the Federal

judiciary in politics was not the least violent of the criticisms the discussion provoked. It is also true that the debate disclosed conditions surrounding elections in the Southern States that were undeniably in violation of the laws governing elections. Anticipating by several years the general adoption of the Australian ballot, Mr. Lodge declared that if he could have his way he would put the secret and official ballot into every district of the country, because he believed that the only thing which would actually and practically stop the use of money in elections.

The bill was passed July 2, 1890, by a vote of one hundred and fifty-five to one hundred and forty-nine after ten or more roll calls on various phases of the measure had been taken. The Senate did not follow the lead of the House and the bill never became a law.

From time to time the ghost of the "Force Bill" marched across the stage of politics and always Mr. Lodge faced the spectre with the courage that marked his every act and attitude. Six months after

the passage of the elections bill, Representative Stone of Missouri, who trod the political ways so lightly that it was said of him he could walk from Washington to St. Louis on the keyboards of a string of pianos without striking a note, made the elections bill the basis of a gratuitous personal attack on his colleague from Massachusetts. Mr. Lodge was not in the House at the moment, but the following day he replied to the Missouri member. The rejoinder was as savage as the attack had been severe. He declared that whatever the defects or imperfections of the measure, he believed most thoroughly in the principle which it involved. This, he said, was the principle of honest elections and of the protection of the ballot box throughout the land and with that he was always ready and always proud to be identified. This speech was considered by Mr. Lodge worthy of a place in the edition of his book of speeches and addresses first published in 1892. "From many words which passed with the hour of speech, I save these few, because I am glad to have spoken them and because there are friends

of mine who are kind enough to wish to keep them," says the original dedicatory preface.

The reply to Stone illustrates the tenacity with which Mr. Lodge held to his convictions. The incident was inconsequential and the speech relatively unimportant. But the attack had been made. Mr. Lodge met it promptly. Furthermore he was not content to let the matter end with the circumstance embalmed only in the voluminous pages of a record where it might be overlooked by even the most diligent biographer. He brought it out for preservation in a manner not likely to escape the observation of the historian of the future.

His constituency had broadened from the little representative district which included his home town of Nahant and from which he was chosen to the Massachusetts legislature in 1880, to the Congressional District of a much greater area, and then to the Commonwealth as a whole. But Nahant never lost its place in his affections. Great honors came to him, his fame carried across the seas; still each year he returned to the little seaside town of his boyhood to preside

as Moderator at the annual town meeting. He prized the office highly, as, indeed, do men all through New England who are chosen to that place of local eminence. And it is significant as revealing his simplicity and very human side that it was the good opinion of his fellow townspeople of Nahant that he cherished most.

In one of his reminiscent moments Senator Lodge said the thing that touched him most deeply in his political life was the impromptu serenade given him by the townspeople of Nahant shortly after his election to Congress in 1886. Except for his success as chairman of the Republican State Committee in 1883, when General Butler was defeated for reëlection as Governor, his personal political experience had been disappointing. "New England in November, particularly along the coast," he said, "is not the most delightful month of the year and it seemed to me that it was unusually cold and bleak at Nahant in the autumn of 1886. The summer colony had departed, but, as usual, I stayed late. Entirely unknown to me the townspeople

arranged the celebration in my honor, and the first I knew of it was when the approach of the parade was announced by the music of the band. The whole town had turned out and I made a little speech from the veranda. That incident stands out in my memory as touching me more deeply than anything else in my political life, for it was all so unexpected, so warm and sincere." It was a source of the very greatest satisfaction to Senator Lodge that during his years of residence in Nahant, his home substantially all his life and a part of his constituency in every public office which he held, that the people of the town should have remained so continuously friendly. He always felt that he had the sustaining support and devotion of his Nahant neighbors. "You may call it 'pride of ownership' if you like," he said, "but I like to feel that in it has also been respect and some measure of affection. This devotion, of which I have had constant proof, has been a great compensation and a very great help to me."

He entered the upper House of Congress as the colleague of George Frisbie Hoar.

Senator Hoar was not especially concerned in the mechanics of politics or in matters of patronage. He was nearing his seventieth birthday and was quite willing to relinquish an interest in these to his younger associate. Their relations were peculiarly pleasant. They had been raised in the same atmosphere. Mr. Hoar knew everybody Mr. Lodge knew, and they had much in common wholly outside of their official life.

The prestige of a seat in the Senate added to the influence of Senator Lodge in his own State. In politics as in science the law of gravitation operates. Ambitious young Republicans with an appetite for office attached themselves to this resolute and forceful leader who embodied the militant spirit of the party. The Lodge "machine" became something to be talked about in the political columns of the newspapers all over the State. Senators were elected in those days, and for many years thereafter, by the state legislatures. He would have been a poor politician, indeed — and he was never that — had he failed to encourage the drift of the party workers in his direction. He

had long before definitely decided to make a career of politics and the public service. Literature was to be an avocation, not to be wholly set aside, but to have the subordinate place in the active interests of his life.

On the day the new Senator from Massachusetts took his seat, Grover Cleveland, after an absence of four years, reëntered the White House and began his second term in the Presidency. Both branches of Congress were controlled by the Democratic Party. Crisp of Georgia was Speaker of the House and the *pro tempore* presidents of the Senate in the Fifty-third Congress were successively, Manderson of Nebraska, Harris of Tennessee and Ransom of North Carolina, names little known to the generation of today. Senator Lodge generally respected the Senatorial tradition, more honored then in the observance than in later years, that new members, like small children, should be "seen and not heard."

He did, however, perform an important service at the outset of his Senatorial career. Cleveland called a special session which met August 7, 1893, to repeal the

law compelling the purchase by the Government of four million ounces of silver every month. This law had proved in operation to be the great weapon of the silver-mine owners in debasing the currency and in placing the United States upon the single silver standard. The first act of Senator Lodge was to introduce a resolution calling for immediate action in regard to this law. He supported President Cleveland in his recommendation of the repeal of the silver purchase act and the repealing bill finally passed after a filibustering debate of two months' duration.

CHAPTER IV

Leadership in Massachusetts

Since the Civil War the Republican Party, except at rare intervals, has been dominant in Massachusetts. During many of these years Senator Lodge maintained and executed a party leadership that was not successfully challenged.

As chairman of the Republican State Committee in 1883 he won his spurs in the fight against General Benjamin F. Butler, the Democratic candidate for reëlection to the governorship. He conducted a remarkable campaign. His place with the Republican leaders of the time, who recognized his industry, his genius for organization, and his uncommon political sense, was made secure. In that campaign he displayed an aptitude for detail which was one of his marked characteristics in the varied activities of a long public life. A house to house canvass of the voters of the Commonwealth was conducted under his direction, and this

canvass, which indicated a majority for Congressman George D. Robinson, Republican candidate for governor, was confirmed when the votes were counted by about the margin the canvass had shown. His personality, even in this early period, attracted men to him.

His interest in the Republican organization increased and his fame as a party advocate grew proportionately as he acquired experience and gained distinction in Washington. He familiarized himself with the political machinery of his party and kept in contact with those who were responsible for its management. To him the organization — the State, city, town and other committees — were of first importance. These committees undoubtedly represented in their collective membership the type of citizen he had in mind when, on the threshold of his political career he paused to proclaim to a group of Harvard students his earnest conviction that good citizenship required of every man that he should seriously concern himself with politics and public affairs.

This address on the "Uses and Responsibilities of Leisure" was delivered at Harvard College in 1886:

Let every man give of his leisure, be it more or less, to politics; for it is simply good citizenship to do so. Discard at the outset the wretched habit which is far too prevalent in this country, and particularly, I am sorry to say, among highly educated persons, of regarding all men who are much in politics with suspicion, and of using the word "politician" as an uncomplimentary epithet, and usually with a sneer. You neither help nor hurt the politician by so doing, but you hurt your country and lower her reputation. There is nothing, indeed, which does more to injure politics and the public business than to assume that a man who enters them is in some way lowered by so doing. The calling ought to be and is an honorable one, and we should all seek to honor and elevate, not to decry it. Politics is a wide field, but it is a very practical one, and the amateur is not only singularly out of place there but is especially apt to do harm by mistaken efforts to do good. Take hold of politics as you

would of any other business, honorably and respectably, but take hold hard. Go to the polls, for example, and work for the man whom you want to see elected, and get your friends to do the same. If you prefer to reach political questions by voice or pen, do it in these ways, but let me suggest that you first inform yourself about politics and politicians, for politics and public questions are exceedingly difficult, and educated men are sometimes as marvelously ignorant upon these subjects as they are ready in judgment and condemnation concerning them.

He was the best exemplar of this preachment. Secure in an inheritance sufficient for all his needs, he could have lived a life of leisure. He chose the more useful and for him, the happier, if not the easier way.

Senator Lodge made the rooms of the Republican State Committee in Boston his headquarters when he was in Massachusetts. It was his custom to go to Boston from Nahant at intervals during a recess of Congress or when on from Washington for a brief visit, and there he met party leaders from various sections of the State. There

also the political writers on the Boston newspapers found him pleasant and agreeable and more or less on guard. At times he talked freely and with an astonishing frankness, but it was not his rule to take everyone into his confidence and only rarely did he supply what the reporters call "good copy." He reserved what he had to say on important public questions for the Senate, and to this custom he generally adhered both in Massachusetts and in Washington in his relations with the press.

As political differences accumulated and political enmities increased, he acquired a reputation as a party "boss," neither deserved nor to his liking. This was emphasized, particularly in Massachusetts, for it was there his political activities centred. Democratic managers in one campaign early in the last decade published a map of Massachusetts about which was stretched the arm of Senator Lodge, to illustrate the complete grip they claimed he had on the State. This was the sort of political misrepresentation most difficult to meet. Patronage is the source of much discontent.

An appointment to office makes a single friend and perhaps many political enemies. Those disappointed in the quest for office often held the Senator responsible, but he made it a rule not to take sides in a primary contest and this he rigidly observed. On one occasion when both he and Senator Crane were told of a projected candidacy for a place on the State ticket he wrote:

Of course a better man could not be found and I am only surprised he should wish to take such a position. You know very well how averse I am to pick out men for the State ticket, and how scrupulously I avoid doing anything of the sort. I know that Senator Crane feels exactly the same way, but when he gets here I will tell him exactly what you say in your letter.

Again, in a mayoralty campaign in the city of Boston, when an attempt was being made to remove one of the Republican candidates from the field in the interest of party success, he wrote from Washington:

I have received requests to put Mr. Hibbard out of the campaign but I do not propose to meddle in the Boston city campaign in any

way. I do not think I have any right to do so and I think I should do more harm than good if I tried to interfere. I believe it is the proper position for Senator Crane and myself to take, and we have taken it only after full consideration. I know you will agree with me that we are right.

Acceptance without reservation of his personal leadership became a habit with Massachusetts Republicans. The Lodge machine was largely a myth; it existed in the imagination of the Senator's political enemies. His following was not card-catalogued. It could not be. It comprised thousands of volunteers who sought for themselves none of the rewards of politics. His intense Americanism and a complete confidence in his political integrity held the rank and file of the Republican Party.

It is common knowledge to those familiar with Massachusetts politics during the last thirty years, that he was the most dependable, as well as the most aggressive, champion of the Republican Party and its principles in the State. He was always willing and always prepared to make the

fight for the Republican issue. He carried the burden of the campaign in Massachusetts year in and year out. He stumped the State east and west, north and south. The support he received from the party organization he repaid in party loyalty and an eager readiness to serve whenever the call came. Disregarding the discomfiture of travel he neither asked to be relieved nor complained.

Each year on election nights he received the early returns at Republican State Committee headquarters in Boston and, later in the evening, at the American House. Surrounded by candidates, committeemen, office holders, and the more enthusiastic partisans who had willingly given "of their leisure to politics," and, often, something more, he read aloud the fateful figures in the telegraphed returns. This was his exclusive prerogative. Other Republican leaders came and went, some of them a little cautious and timid, for the contact with those who played the game was unavoidably intimate. Senator Lodge, however, appeared to welcome the opportunity to

touch elbows with the party workers and he remained until the returns indicated victory or defeat.

Party allegiance was strong during much of the time he was active in Republican politics in Massachusetts, and on election day, as a rule, the voters of both parties marched to the polls with closed ranks. At times the Republican ranks broke and even his eloquence could not turn back the tide of desertion. In the early nineties the brilliant William E. Russell, ten years later William L. Douglas, in 1910 Eugene N. Foss, and then David I. Walsh, the latter destined to sit in the United States Senate, were elected Democratic governors in a State normally Republican by many thousand votes. In each of these campaigns, as in the many in which his party won, the Senator was never with the reserves. He took his politics seriously. Party victories were a cause for rejoicing. Party defeats plunged him for the moment into dejection.

In the second election of Eugene N. Foss, the Democratic candidate for governor to succeed himself, the returns were received

as usual at the American House and Senator Lodge was on hand to read them. These showed from the outset the reëlection of Governor Foss. The Senator was greatly depressed. He left the American House to take a late train to Nahant. We strolled through the familiar streets of the old North End discussing the election. "I can understand the people electing Foss governor once," said he, "but the melancholy thing about this election is that the State has chosen him a second time. That I cannot understand."

Years afterward this conversation was recalled. "Yes, I remember," he said, with his whimsical smile. "But as Governor Foss was elected even once again it would not appear that the melancholia with which we were afflicted for the moment became immediately epidemic among the voters of the Commonwealth."

CHAPTER V

His Statesmanship Relied Upon

I

An Era of Construction

In the great constructive era ushered in with the election of William McKinley in 1896, and that continued through the Roosevelt administration, Senator Lodge was one of the group of statesmen who charted the course.

The war with Spain was fought and won and became a memory; a policy of "benevolent assimilation" in the Philippines was proclaimed, adopted and has continued to this day; the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the United States; an interoceanic ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama, the dream of centuries, became a reality; the natural resources of the nation were rescued from exploitation by private interests; the fight for the gold standard triumphed; a

high protective tariff policy seemed to be accepted and firmly established. The country apparently approved. The Republican party was in high favor. Unprecedented majorities everywhere for Republican candidates contributed to the sense of security of the party leaders in and out of Congress.

In the National Convention of 1896 Senator Lodge, as a member of the committee on resolutions, had taken a leading part in the preparation of the financial plank which was to become the principal issue in the campaign.

President Roosevelt succeeded the martyred McKinley in September, 1901, and during the seven and one half years of the Roosevelt administration no man in public life was on such terms of intimacy with the President as Senator Lodge. He had the freedom of the White House and the ear of the President, to whom he was not only friend and confidant but adviser as well. President Roosevelt selected Senator Lodge for an important service as a member of the Alaskan Boundary Commission which met in London in the summer of 1903.

There had long been a disagreement with Great Britain over the location of the boundary line between Canada and Alaska, owing to the difference in the interpretation of a treaty made between Russia and Great Britain in 1825 in which the boundary was defined. The discovery of gold in Alaska in the late nineties had brought this matter prominently to the front. The principal point of difference was whether the boundary line should be thirty marine leagues east from the western boundary of the islands off the Alaska coast, the line mentioned in the Russia-Great Britain treaty, or that distance east of the mainland coast. In January, 1903, a treaty was signed between the United States and Great Britain providing for a tribunal of three Americans and three British commissioners to settle the dispute. An agreement was reached in October, 1903, which was largely in favor of the United States, and of great material advantage to the people in the far northwest. In his letter to the Progressive Convention in 1916 when he urged the nomination of Senator Lodge for the Presi-

dency, Mr. Roosevelt mentioned his "distinguished" services on this commission.

After Roosevelt came Taft and then the deluge. The Republican platform of 1908 and President Taft's speech of acceptance conveyed the promise of a "downward" revision of the tariff. A condition "unjust, oppressive and intolerable" by reason of the suppression of competition between protected interests, was the platform admission. Senator Lodge was a member of the finance committee of the Senate that drafted a new tariff which a special session of Congress in 1909 passed and President Taft signed. Of his work on the new tariff Senator Lodge wrote in May, 1909, to a Massachusetts friend:

We are having a very hard time here with the tariff. I mean hard in the way of work. I have never been worked so in my life as I have been for the last six weeks and I expect it to continue until the bill gets out of the Senate. There is an immense amount of faultfinding, as there is with every tariff bill, but when it gets through I think it will be found that the great industries of Massa-

chusetts have been well cared for. Senator Crane has done an immense amount of work. I believe that if we have not been able to get all that some of our people wanted, they all feel, at least, that we have given them the utmost care and attention. We certainly tried to.

Again he wrote replying to a correspondent who had suggested that public sentiment was sensitive on the subject of tariff revision:

The fact about the tariff is that it is a revision downward, although we made no pledges to revise either down or up. The bill is full of decreases, but we cannot afford, as protectionists or Republicans, to injure industries by reducing the Dingley rates where they are absolutely necessary for the continuance of an industry. The fact is that people take the loose talk which appears in the newspapers and imagine there are no reductions when there are, as a matter of fact, a great many — no less than 379, as you will see by the little pamphlet which I send you. (Examine it!) The reductions pass unnoticed but debates occur on those paragraphs where the com-

mittee has undertaken to retain the Dingley rates because they thought them necessary for the industry. The House retained many Dingley rates which we have left unchanged, but those they do not debate; the attack is confined to the changes made by the committee.

If the country is on the edge of prosperous times, as every sign indicates, we shall be successful in the elections, for there is no argument like prosperity. If times are bad, no tariff that could be made could save the party in power from defeat. We shall be, in my opinion, judged at the election by the condition of the country's business and not by the intrinsic merits of the tariff bill. In any event, it is well to suggest to people who get impatient that they should wait until the bill becomes a law. It has not yet got through the Senate and after that comes the conference state. My own opinion is that when it becomes law it is going to be a pretty good bill and will contain some features which will help the industries of the country and particularly the cotton textile industry of New England, upon certain grades of which, owing to court

rulings, all reasonable and proper protection has practically ceased.

The Payne-Aldrich tariff act was the principal factor in the disaster that overwhelmed the Republican Party in the Congressional elections of 1910.

II

The Champion of the Charter

Notwithstanding he was burdened at this time with the labor of tariff-making in Washington, Senator Lodge unhesitatingly responded to an appeal to go to Massachusetts to save the new charter for the city of Boston, then pending in the legislature. As a rule he refused to assume responsibility or direct the course of legislation in his own State. On measures of a purely political character that affected the welfare of his party he did not withhold his influence. On subjects of general legislation, however, he had neither the inclination nor did he believe he had the right to interfere. The new Boston city charter was a quasi-political measure of very great importance

that he believed justified his active support. The proposed charter, under which Boston is still operating, was being pressed in the face of violent opposition of practical politicians who for obvious reasons were wholly satisfied with the system of local government as it then stood. The Senator had expressed a wish to be kept informed of the progress of the measure. In May the bill was reported from the committee to the legislature in a form acceptable to the Finance Commission, of which ex-Mayor Nathan Matthews, one of the leaders of the Democratic party, was the chairman. At this time the representative of the Republican State Committee wrote to the Senator:

Grafton Cushing, House Chairman of the Committee on Metropolitan Affairs, called me on the telephone this morning and asked me what I thought of having a caucus of all the Republicans of the legislature on the Charter Bill. I told him while I believed it would be a good thing to get the Republican members together, I doubted the wisdom of having the bill the subject of a general party caucus, thus emphasizing the fact that it is a

party measure. While we have to take the responsibility for whatever charter bill is passed, it does not seem to me either wise or necessary to place upon it the party label in that way. I wish you would give us your opinion on this suggestion. . . . Yesterday Mr. Matthews told me the bill was satisfactory, and that the Finance Commission would endorse it at the right time. I know John Sullivan (another member of the commission) feels very strongly about it. He told me he not only thought the Republicans of the committee on Metropolitan Affairs had acted very intelligently, but patriotically as well, and he should say as much later.

An immediate reply was received from Senator Lodge:

I think that Crosby (Representative Crosby of Arlington, the chairman) and the men on the committee have done extremely well under great difficulties and I regard it as very important, not only in the interests of good government but in the interests of the Republican party, that we should pass the measure substantially as it was reported from the committee. At the same time I do not think

it would be wise to call a Republican caucus. It must be a party measure — no one realizes that more fully than Matthews and Sullivan — and our people must be made to understand that it is a party measure, but there is a long step between that fact and putting a conspicuous label on the bill by a party caucus. I quite agree with you in your view as to the desirability of having no party conference unless it becomes absolutely necessary to secure the passage of the bill.

The new city charter had its difficulties in the legislature and a deadlock threatened. It was not until after the Senator's death any public acknowledgment was made of the important part he had taken. Before the National Municipal League, Mr. Matthews related the circumstances of this achievement in municipal reform. He said the framing of the new charter was a purely non-partisan work but that getting it through the legislature was a task of a wholly different order. The reforms urged were without precedent and the compromises suggested by the enemies of the

charter were so devitalizing that its sponsors refused to listen.

"It occurred to me that the situation warranted an appeal to the statesman whose funeral I have just attended," said Mr. Matthews. "Senator Lodge was the ablest man in public life of my generation and acquaintance; and although seldom in agreement with him in the purely partisan issues in state and national politics I felt that in this emergency his powerful aid could probably be secured and would prove effective. Mr. Lodge came to Boston, studied the problem for a week or so and then induced his party associates in the legislature to support the plan of the commission. It was then passed without the change of an idea or important word, by what was practically a party vote. I have frequently referred to the great service rendered by Senator Lodge to the cause of good government in Boston, but not, I believe, in public. His record as a statesman will be part of the history of Massachusetts. I want to be sure that in this record is incorporated the service given to the people of this community fifteen years

ago in their efforts to secure the present city charter."

Senator Lodge never in the least claimed any public credit. Upon being told of the passage of the charter bill he wrote from Washington: "Thank you for your letter of the twenty-eighth. I am greatly pleased to see the way in which the charter passed the House. It was a fine vote and was a very good piece of work."

CHAPTER VI

The Record Upheld

Senator Lodge was elected to the United States Senate by the legislature four times and twice by popular vote at the polls. Following his first election in 1893 he had no opposition in his own party, that found expression in the legislative caucus, in a period of eighteen years. His attitude on the Philippines and the collateral issue of national expansion or "imperialism," created an inconsequential rift which, however, did not crystallize into effective opposition to him in the legislature or elsewhere. During this time his political fences were not neglected although they required little repairing. It was not until the autumn of 1910, when the legislature which was to assemble in January was chosen that the anti-Lodge sentiment became threatening. Senator Lodge was a candidate for reëlection to the Senate for his fourth term. While there was dissatisfaction with some

of the national policies of the Republican Party, and distrust and suspicion of some of the men high in its councils, none of the political experts visualized the extent of the destructive crusade against the conservative forces in control which was to follow the Armageddon of 1912.

The drive against Senator Lodge in the election of 1910, however, was personal as well as political. He had been in public life for almost twenty-five years. He had been aggressive and unyielding where a principle was involved. The "scholar in politics" had become in the opinion of his friends, a statesman of the first rank; to his critics he was the master politician, surrounded by and the rallying point for lesser politicians, supported by an organization unresponsive to the advanced political thought of the hour. He also shared responsibility for the Payne-Aldrich tariff act which wrecked the Taft administration and was repudiated by the country in 1910 in the election of a Democratic majority to the National House of Representatives.

The relatively narrow margin by which

the Republicans had carried the State legislature had encouraged the Democrats and the anti-Lodge element in the Republican party. His loyal and disinterested friends rallied to his support. He needed them all. Senator Crane went to Boston from his home in western Massachusetts the day after the State election and assumed the task of strengthening the lines against the time, two months later, when the legislature would be called upon to vote. Returning to Washington, Senator Lodge watched from there the political storm break about the heads of his supporters. Under the leadership of Governor-Elect Foss the campaign against the Senator was carried on with a spectacular disregard of the amenities. Some years earlier Mr. Foss had been badly defeated in an effort to commit the Republican party to reciprocity with Canada. On that occasion Senator Lodge rebuked the champion of reciprocity and ridiculed hi-pretensions and methods. In the unpopus larity of the Taft administration and the new Republican tariff act, Mr. Foss saw his opportunity to square the account.

He planned an anti-Lodge tour of the State with a company of speakers and opened the attack at Provincetown. There, however, he discovered that he had been preceded and forestalled. On his own initiative, Norman H. White of Brookline, one of the most aggressive of the supporters of Senator Lodge, was on the ground distributing a pamphlet entitled "The Truth about Lodge," which he challenged Mr. Foss to answer and disprove. In the meanwhile Robert Luce, now a member of Congress, had invited Mr. Foss to a joint debate on Lodge, the high cost of living and the policies of the Republican party. This invitation Mr. Foss declined.

The campaign against the Senator seemed to be gaining in force and his friends on the ground concluded the opposition could best be met by the Senator in person. The outcome proved the wisdom of this course. A public meeting was arranged. Senator Lodge went to Boston and made his famous Symphony Hall address, January 3, 1911. His personal appearance marked the climax and the turning point in the campaign.

His speech was carefully prepared; a statement in outline of his service and of his opinions on the questions of the day. The record of accomplishment was temperately presented. Enumerating some of the measures which he had helped by voice and vote to pass, he spoke of his deep interest in Civil Service Reform.

When Senator Lodge left the House in 1893 *Good Government*, the organ of the Civil Service Reform Association, described him as the "most useful friend civil service reform has had in either House of Congress for the last four years." He had given his support to a powerful navy, "as the one great assurance to the peace of the United States." As chairman of the immigration committee he drew and reported many general and special bills for the regulation of immigration; laws to strengthen the contract labor law attracted his interest; the bill to suppress the white slave traffic from abroad was passed on his motion and he supported and carried the Mann Bill designed to destroy that infamous traffic between the States. As chairman of the committee on the Philippines he brought

out the Organic Act of 1892, which established the Philippine government, created an assembly and provided for popular elections.

During the fourteen years he had then served on the Committee on Foreign Relations he helped draft the resolutions which led to intervention in Cuba and war with Spain; he drafted the amendment which secured the passage of the treaty of reciprocity with Cuba; he reported the second Hay-Pauncefote treaty which abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and cleared the way for the construction of the Panama Canal; he reported and passed the Alaskan Boundary treaty. When he first entered Congress he introduced a bill for a postal savings banks law and he always favored the parcel post. He gave his vote to the Sherman Anti-Trust law, the first attempt to control great combinations of capital, and to the railroad bill of 1904, which stopped railroad rebates. He reported the law against the opium traffic and secured its enlargement and the inclusion of cocaine in the rigidly restricted list in the tariff

act of 1909. He introduced a general child labor law and was largely responsible for the enactment of the child labor law in the District of Columbia.

With an eloquence that thrilled his great audience he spoke in his concluding sentences of his reverence for the dignity and traditions of his office and of his gratitude to the State:

This also let me say: Whatever my shortcomings, I have cherished with reverence the dignity and the traditions of the great office I hold. I have never suffered them to be lowered . . . I am a Senator of the United States. . . . But I am also a Senator from Massachusetts, and that last word touches the chords of memory with tender hand and moves the heart of all to whom it speaks of home. . . . Every tradition of our great State is dear to me, every page of her history is to me a household word. To her service I have given the best years of my life and the best there was in me to give. I hope that I have been a not altogether unprofitable servant. I have given my all; no man can give more. Others may well serve her with greater ability than I.

I fervently hope that there will be many such others in the days to come, when her light will still shine before men as it now shines with steady radiance in the pages of history. Others may easily serve her better than I in those days yet to be, but of this I am sure: That no one can serve her with a greater love or deeper loyalty.

It was the first time Senator Lodge had spoken in his own behalf since he campaigned for election to the House, twenty years before. The effort to defeat him failed. On a joint ballot he had a sufficient number of Republican votes to give him a majority. Of the two hundred and seventy-nine votes cast he received one hundred and forty-four Republican and two Democratic votes, six more than were necessary to elect.

CHAPTER VII

On the Threshold of Great Events

I

In Accord with Wilson

A chastened Republican minority took its place in the Congress which assembled in extraordinary session early in April, 1913, at the summons of a Democratic President. The national election of the preceding November had rent in twain the party of Lincoln and McKinley and Roosevelt. None there were who could see into the political future. There was no assurance that the Progressive wave which all but submerged the Republicans in 1912, and in the backwash left the Democratic party in power, had spent itself. Colonel Roosevelt was silent as to his own plans. In the late winter and spring of 1913 the advance guard of Mr. Bryan's "deserving Democrats" marched on the Capitol. Optimism pervaded Washington; an "era of good feeling" was widely

proclaimed. Republican leaders were taking account of stock and warily feeling out the situation. Senator Lodge was least apprehensive of the resiliency of his party. "It is not easy to destroy either of the major political parties," said he shortly after the 1912 election. "The Democratic party survived the Civil War and the Republican party withstood the schism of 1884 and the mugwump movement. Let us wait." This was his answer to those of the old faith who were giving ear to the suggestion that the tattered remnants of the Republican party be gathered into the ranks of the Progressives to be known henceforth as Republican-Progressive, or, it might be, the other way about. He was not ready to aid or countenance an amalgamation of that sort.

The first year of the Wilson administration, except for the debacle in Mexico, was uneventful. Congress displayed no more than the usual partisanship. The Republican minority offered only a passive resistance to the program of the party in power. President Wilson was on good terms with

the Senate, the legislative arm of the government between which and the White House the contact is, of necessity, closest and most direct. The Senate confirms nominations to important public offices. Also, in its constitutional right, it has coördinate authority with the President in determining treaties between the United States and other nations. Senator Lodge went along with the administration. There was no hint at this time that he was to play so great a part in the unfolding tragedies of the immediate years — no indication that he and the President would become irreconcilable antagonists on fundamental questions of national policy.

President Wilson addressed the Congress in person in a joint session on April 8, 1913, a month after he had taken the oath. He revived a custom that had been abandoned since the early days of the Republic. Not for more than a century, not since Jefferson, had a President read in person his message to the assembled lawmakers. The announcement that Wilson was to do so was received with expressions of both

approval and disapproval at the Capitol. "The revival of the custom is very appropriate and much can be said in its favor," said Senator Lodge to the newspaper interviewer. "The old fear expressed under Washington and Jefferson that the President's speech was a Federalist device for throwing the country under a monarchial government is not so great now as it was then."

The first Wilson message was relatively brief and to the point. Its substance was known in advance and, therefore, there was no surprise when the President urged an alteration of the tariff duties in the interest of all the American people. But the country was even then on the threshold of great events and, while the Democratic tariff measure was swiftly enacted, its importance was eclipsed by the clouds fast gathering on the world horizon.

The Wilson administration inherited the Mexican problem and this was proving immediately troublesome. There was talk of intervention by the United States in Mexico, and in July, 1913, in a speech in

the Senate, Senator Lodge urged that the government first "put into operation every recognized engine of diplomacy" for the protection and rescue of any American citizen whose life or property was in peril. "There is no question of party about it. I blame my own party quite as much as I do the Democrats today," he declared, replying to the charge that the Republican policy was responsible for disregard of American rights in Mexico.

The disturbed condition in Mexico dated from 1910 when, in the autumn of that year, the Madero revolution, directed against the long-established government of President Diaz, began. Francesco Madero, the leader of the successful revolution, took the oath of office as President November 6, 1911, and his government was recognized by President Taft. In January, 1913, Felix Diaz headed a revolution against Madero in Mexico City and attacked the palace. General Huerta, who was commander of the Madero forces, went over to Diaz and the Madero government was overthrown. Huerta then took over the government and in accord-

ance with constitutional form became Provisional President. President Taft's term was nearing the end and he took no action in regard to the Huerta government, feeling he had no right to commit President Wilson, who was to become so immediately his successor, on so important a point.

President Wilson took office on the fourth of March, 1913, and on the twenty-sixth of that month the revolution headed by Carranza broke out in northern Mexico. The following summer President Wilson sent as his personal representative to Mexico former Governor John Lind of Minnesota with what was in effect a proposal to General Huerta that he abdicate. The Huerta government rejected the proposals in toto and on August 27 President Wilson made his second appearance at a joint session of Congress. He recited the circumstances of the Lind mission, disclosed the instructions which had been given to his emissary and transmitted the official reply which this government had received from Huerta's Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The President's message urged Americans to leave

Mexico at once if it was physically possible for them to do so, and, to those Americans forced to remain, he pledged the protection of their government. He announced an embargo on the exportation of arms and ammunition into Mexico.

To this message Senator Lodge gave his unqualified approval. "An excellent message," was his comment. "With its substantiative declaration in forbidding the shipment of arms to Mexico I am in hearty accord. Only two courses are open, intervention and non-intervention, and I am sure the sentiment of the country would not tolerate intervention. With respect to the suggestion of the President that Americans should leave Mexico, the same suggestion was made by Mr. Taft. It is the one which only the President could make."

II

Attacks Wilson Mexican Policy

In his first annual address to the Congress December 2, 1913, President Wilson visualized but one cloud on the horizon.

"There can be no certain prospect of peace in America until General Huerta has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico," said the President. He saw the power and prestige of Huerta crumbling and the collapse not far away. "We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting," said the President. But in a very few months the Mexican cloud cast its shadow far across the boundary to the doors of the White House itself. "Watchful waiting" became at last, in the mouths of the President's political opponents, a byword and a reproach. The Wilson policy as to Mexico was responsible for Senator Lodge's first critical outburst against the administration. In the winter and spring of 1914 flaming headlines in the press of the country carried the threat of war and emphasized the strained relations between the United States and its revolution-ridden neighbor republic.

In April, 1914, came the insult to the American flag at Tampico and the bombardment and capture of Vera Cruz by American forces. The Wilson policy of non-

recognition of Mexico or any Central American Government not formed on constitutional lines was well understood. It was equally well known that the efforts of the Carranza-Villa constitutionalists to overthrow the Huerta Government, which was finally accomplished, had the moral support of the Washington administration. President Wilson regarded Huerta as a "plug-ugly" who did not represent the Mexican people nor any considerable part of the Mexican people.

Senator Lodge reviewed the whole Mexican trouble in a speech in the Senate on January 6, 1915. He declared he was not one of those disposed to find fault with the refusal to recognize Huerta, but he disapproved of the refusal of recognition on the personal ground that the character of the head of the Mexican Government at that time was unsatisfactory. In his opinion there were broad international grounds and sound international grounds upon which that refusal could have been based. He contended that when the Mexican question was first presented, there were two possible

policies for the United States to pursue. One was to begin by exerting all its power and influence under international law and under treaties and in accordance with the comity of nations to prevent outrages and wrongs, and to try to bring about pacification. This, Senator Lodge said, was never effectively attempted. The other course was for the United States to enter Mexico in sufficient force to take possession of and pacify the country and try to bring back a government which would have the capacity of fulfilling its international obligations and at least establish order. To that course he believed the United States was rightly opposed. The course this country did pursue was neither one nor the other, he said, and combined with "singular dexterity" the evils of both and the advantages of neither. "We did not stay out and we did not go in effectively," said Senator Lodge. "I should be sorry to shed the blood of a single American soldier or sailor for the sake of restoring order in Mexico, but nothing, it seems to me, can possibly justify shedding the blood of a single American

soldier or sailor for the sake of putting one blood-stained Mexican in the place occupied by another."

But the national alarm and excitement over conditions in Mexico abated, the whole Mexican question was obscured, and Tampico and Vera Cruz forgotten in the larger public interest in the war in Europe. Indeed, so relatively unimportant had the Mexican situation become that the President did not allude to it in his annual message to Congress in December, 1914.

CHAPTER VIII

Opposes Peace Proposals

The national election of 1916, when the triumph of Hughes appeared assured in the earlier returns, was a bitter disappointment to Senator Lodge. He won his own reëlection in Massachusetts by a margin of a little more than thirty thousand when he and his friends had expected a much larger plurality. His seat in the Senate was secure for six more years, but he detected, in an analysis of the vote cast for him, a pacifist sentiment in his own State. The West had been captured for Wilson by the slogan "He kept us out of war!" that swept from the Pacific slope across the mountains to the Mississippi. The Senator would not acknowledge that his faith in the patriotism of the American people had been shaken. Nevertheless he read into the returns from the States which had given to the Democratic Administration a vote of confidence, not only indifference to the appeals of war-

torn Europe, but neither apprehension nor understanding of the menace the success of the German arms held for the United States.

The incident that widened the breach between Senator Lodge and the President occurred in this campaign. Their relations never had been cordial. He had been frankly critical of the Wilson pre-war policies. Especially was he not in sympathy with the President's method of dealing with Germany in the *Lusitania* tragedy. When the British liner was torpedoed off the Old Head of Kinsale, May 7, 1915, one hundred and twenty-four American men, women and children were drowned. A series of notes sent to Germany by the Administration had been evasively answered. In a campaign speech in Brockton, October 26, 1916, Senator Lodge declared without qualification that President Wilson had added a postscript to the second *Lusitania* note assuring the Imperial Government that some of his previous vigorous pronouncements on the subject were not to be taken seriously. The charge was denied by some

of President Wilson's friends, but it was repeated by the Senator and then the President issued a formal statement saying the assertion was untrue. Replying, Senator Lodge said he would not question the word of the President of the United States and must accept the denial; but he recalled that the authority on which he made his original statement had appeared to him unimpeachable. The Senator always believed that some sort of supplement to the *Lusitania* note, if not precisely a postscript, had existed.

At this time he foresaw a transfer of German submarine warfare to the high seas and the inauguration of a submarine campaign by Germany off the American coast that would result in a virtual embargo. "The American people don't seem to care how many Americans are killed on the *Lusitania* or in Mexico," he said, commenting on the election. "But as soon as the importations of wheat and cotton are stopped they will find themselves hit hard. Germany has been ineffective in its submarine warfare at the port of entry; when she transfers her activities to the high

seas there will be a different story. Her submarines can lay off Nantucket, outside the three-mile limit, and pick up every ship bound to an English port. We are absolutely unprepared for armed resistance in any adequate way and Wilson does not seem to realize it. A large minority sentiment in America appears to be commercialized to a degree that overshadows patriotism. The East, I think, is sound. But the Western States, far from the seacoast, and, as they falsely believe, out of the danger zone, seem content to live in a fool's paradise. The same is true of the western slope. There, also, although on an unguarded coast, the people do not seem to realize the menace."

He saw America unprepared surely drifting into war. For months Representative Augustus Peabody Gardner, the son-in-law of Senator Lodge, had sought in and out of Congress, to create a public sentiment that would force the authorities in Washington to make preparations for what to him and hosts of his countrymen seemed inevitable, the entry of the United States into the World War. Major Gardner made the

supreme sacrifice in a mobilization camp.

The President held to the definite purpose of securing the peace of the world without American participation in the actual conflict. On December 18, 1916, he issued a peace communication to the warring powers. He asked for a statement of the terms of peace and announced that "the objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world." The implication that the Allies and the Central Powers stood on the same moral ground was indignantly resented and repudiated by the governments of the Allied nations. The President's supporters, however, sought by resolution in the Senate and finally secured an endorsement of his request that the belligerents state their terms of peace. Senator Lodge led the opposition to the resolution. He claimed that the Wilson note had been construed here and abroad as an effort to give direct support to the German move for peace. For this misinterpretation he laid the blame on the German Ambas-

sador, Count von Bernstorff, whom he accused of an improper attempt to influence the American people. The Senator ignored all Senate customs by specifically naming the diplomat and based his statements on Bernstorff's Christmas message which had been published on Christmas Eve in the *New Yorker Staats Zeitung*. In this the Ambassador approved the President's communication and announced Germany's willingness to follow his lead.

During the winter of 1916–17 the American people and the American Congress marked time to the march of events in Europe. Senator Lodge deplored the national acquiescence in the wrongs perpetrated across the seas, the indifference to the danger which threatened civilization, and the hesitancy which kept his country neutral in these sombre days. But he did not waver in the belief the United States would take her place with her natural allies. During this time he was at the Capitol regularly, on the floor of the Senate and in his office, doing the work of each day as it came to hand. He kept informed of the

progress of the war on the various battle-fronts, was in correspondence with important people in foreign countries, and naturally, for he did not conceal his sympathies, was the friend and confidant of the representatives of the Allied Powers in this country.

Undismayed by the reception of his Christmas overture, the President, on January 22, 1917, made his next peace move. This he did in an address to the United States Senate advocating a League to Enforce Peace. His expressed idea of "peace without victory" created consternation both in this country and abroad. Discussing this address on February 1, Senator Lodge laid the foundation for the opposition to a League of Nations that would guarantee the territorial integrity of its members from external aggression, a proposal which later was to come before the Senate in the Treaty of Versailles. The Senator called attention to the admission of the President that an enduring peace "must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind." Com-

menting on the numerical strength of the proposed League force, he declined to venture a guess himself, but quoted the opinion of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, whom he described as a "distinguished historian, a close student and high authority on all American policies and a most friendly critic of the President's address." In a newspaper article Professor Hart had stated that if the words of the President meant anything definite, they meant "an international police force of not less than 5,000,000 men, in which the share of the United States would be at least 500,000." Considering the plan with reference solely to the United States, Senator Lodge gave counsel of caution against departing from the policy of Washington and Monroe by pledging adherence to a league for peace without knowing how far it was proposed to go or what would be demanded. He opposed placing the country in a position where its military forces could be used for war by the decree of other nations. He suggested an adequate national defense, rehabilitation and reëstablishment of international law,

the extension of the use of voluntary arbitration, and a general reduction of armaments by all nations as practicable measures to promote peace. He said:

Let us beware how we take any steps which will precipitate this country, and the people who are to come after us, and whose inheritance it is, into dangers which no man can foresee. We cannot secure our own safety or build up the lasting peace of the world upon peace at any price. The peace of the world, to be enduring, must be based on righteousness at any cost.

Before the echoes of this controversy had died away the President announced that he had severed diplomatic relations with Germany. On February 7 the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported to the Senate a resolution approving the action of the President. In urging the Senate to give to the Administration united support, Senator Lodge reached the heights of non-partisanship and loyalty to country. He emphasized the constitutional authority of the President to conduct, short of actual declaration

of war, the foreign relations of the United States. He said:

. . . Under these circumstances, so far as I am concerned, party lines vanish, and any criticism of the past or any criticism of the present is silenced for me. . . . There is one step more important than any other, if we are to preserve our peace under existing conditions, and that is to show to the people of the country that we are without divisions at this moment. . . . My earnest hope is that at this time personal feelings, political feelings, political enmities will be laid aside, that we will remember only that we are Americans. . . and let that nation (Germany) and the world know that when the President speaks, as he has spoken, he has the Congress of the United States, and the people of the United States, no matter what their race or origin, behind him in the one simple character of American citizens.

CHAPTER IX

America Enters the War

I

The Appeal to Patriotism

The Sixty-Fifth Congress had been called in extraordinary session by Presidential proclamation dated March 21, 1917, "to receive a communication concerning grave matters of national policy which should be taken under immediate consideration." The session came in on April 2, the two Houses assembling in joint convention in the House of Representatives in the evening. Always a spectacle, this joint convention of Congress was memorable and incomparable in its setting. The floor and galleries were crowded with an audience carefully scrutinized and sifted. All day Washington had been crowded with belligerent pacifists, turbulent in manner, and determined to force their way into the Capitol, the purpose being to stage a demonstration when the

President arrived. A handful fell upon Senator Lodge outside the door of his office. Others entered the Vice-President's room and were so aggressive they were ejected. By nightfall the authorities had them eliminated so far as any possibility of trouble was concerned. Troops of cavalry guarded the approaches and the building swarmed with secret service men and police to see that no harm from the lovers of peace should befall the President in the discharge of a constitutional duty. He came to the Capitol with a military escort.

Directly in front of the Speaker in the House chamber sat the members of the Supreme Court. On one side was the diplomatic corps. When the doors opened the Senate entered and marched down the center aisle to the seats allotted them, each man, save two or three, carrying or wearing an American flag. The President was the last to arrive. Great applause greeted him. The silence which followed was pregnant with restrained emotion. The fateful words, that were to bring the United States into the world war were about to be uttered in

the presence of the representatives of a people whose patience, at last exhausted, now were eager to mobilize the material resources of the nation.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities it involves. . . . I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

The President's call carried to every heart and home in his own country and to the world at large. In the one it stirred to a blaze the slumbering fires of patriotism — to the other the words of the American President brought hope and courage and a revival of faith in the ultimate preservation

of human liberty. After the President had completed his address Senator Lodge shook his hand warmly and said, "Mr. President, you have expressed in the loftiest manner possible the sentiments of the American people."

On April 4, a resolution formally declaring a "state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government" was adopted by the Senate and on April 5 the House concurred. It was no time for side-stepping or for evasion. Of the total membership in both Houses, there were but seventeen absentees.

In the fervid oratory in Congress which immediately preceded the passage of the declaration of war, no speech had a higher appeal to patriotism than that made by Senator Lodge. It was, in many respects, the most notable address of his career. It breathed the spirit of the America of his ideals, of a nation aroused from a dangerous lethargy and ready to fight for the preservation of those principles of freedom on which it was founded. Senator Lodge made this speech on April 4. The

galleries were filled to overflowing when he rose in his place. The tension ended only when he took his seat and the galleries, unheeding the admonitions of the presiding officer, broke into a tumult of applause.

Senator Lodge called alike upon Democrats and Republicans to forget party in the common purpose. Through long service on the Naval Affairs Committee he had become familiar with the needs and problems of the Navy. The deficiencies he noted, and urged, as a pressing duty, that Congress supply at once all the money and all the legislation necessary for both the Army and the Navy to put them on a war basis. He placed himself in full agreement with the President in urging coöperation in counsel and action with the foreign governments at war with Germany. He expressed the hope that ten thousand regular troops would be sent overseas at once for the moral effect the presence of American soldiers and the sight of the American flag would have on the Allies; he urged assistance through the extension of credits and supplies. Sorrowfully, but with hope and

courage he saw his country compelled to enter the war. He said:

There are some things worse for a nation than war. National degeneracy, national cowardice is worse. The division of our people into race groups, striving to direct the course of the United States in the interest of some other country when we should have but one allegiance, one hope, and one tradition is worse. . . . We seek no conquests, we desire no territory and no new dominions. We wish simply to preserve our own peace and security. . . . What we want most of all is to secure the world's peace, broad-based on freedom and democracy, a world controlled by the will of the free people of the earth.

II

The Freedom of the Press

In the weeks following the entrance of the United States into the world war, Congress was required to provide, through legislation, the machinery to enable the United States to carry on. The time called for comprehensive and discriminating intelligence

in drafting laws to meet conditions and emergencies. One of the early necessary measures related to the punishment of espionage. Passing reference had been made by President Wilson in his address of April 2 to the presence of German spies in "unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government." The Senate Judiciary Committee promptly reported out a blanket bill for the punishment of espionage.

In the consideration of this bill Senator Lodge appeared as an advocate of a policy that would interfere as little as possible with the constitutional freedom guaranteed the press. The Judiciary Committee had agreed in an espionage law, which, while providing no restriction or limitation should be placed on any discussion, comment or criticism of the acts or policies of the government or its representatives, also had the proviso that "no discussion, comment or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section."

Senator Lodge opposed the imposition of a limitation on the press of the country that

would prevent and make a punishable offense any legitimate criticism, even though it conveyed no information of value to the enemy. There was, he pointed out, a very broad distinction to be drawn between publications which would give aid and comfort to the enemy and interfere with the conduct of the war by the United States — which was in a sense treason — and mere criticism or comment on what had occurred — something that had already happened and gone into the past. Even severe censorship in England had not diverted the *London Times* and other Northcliffe newspapers from a course of criticism of the Government which led to a change in the Ministry and to the removal of men who were thought by the parliament or by the country incompetent for the duties to which they had been assigned. Senator Lodge would not give his approval he said to a law that jeopardized the liberties of any man who made a speech, or wrote a letter or published an article criticizing something that had been done, something that had happened. He thought

that going very far. There was a long debate on this subject but before a vote was taken on the espionage bill as a whole the Judiciary Committee agreed to strike out the objectionable provision and Senator Lodge came off a victor in this skirmish for the freedom of the press.

CHAPTER X

The League and the Issue

No majority leader in Congress ever faced a task more difficult than that with which Senator Lodge was confronted when the war ended. In the summer of 1918 the German forces suffered severe repulses and the offensive passed into the hands of the Allied armies. Rumors of peace proposals were widespread and in constant circulation in the United States. In a notable speech in the Senate on August 23, 1918, Senator Lodge warned the country against the "insidious and poisonous peace propaganda" of Germany. To avert the danger which he believed seriously threatened a "just and righteous peace" he boldly announced to the American people these essential terms on which peace should be made: Restoration of Belgium; Alsace and Lorraine returned to France and the Italia Irredenta to Italy; independence for Serbia and Roumania; security for Greece; an

independent Poland; Russian provinces taken by the Brest-Litovsk treaty returned to Russia; Constantinople taken from Turkey and established as a free port; Palestine made safe; compensation to France and Belgium for ruthless destruction of property. Unwavering in the conviction that the Allies should insist on a dictated and not a negotiated peace with Germany — fearful of a "peace of bargain, of give and take, and of arrangement" — Senator Lodge brought all the powers of his eloquence to present to the country the danger of a peace reached in that way. He said:

No peace that satisfies Germany in any degree can ever satisfy us. It cannot be a negotiated peace. As this war is utterly different from any war the world has ever known, so must the peace which concludes it be utterly different from any peace the world has ever known. The only peace for us is one that rests on unconditional surrender. . . . It must be a dictated peace and we and our Allies must dictate it.

In October, 1918, Colonel Edward M.

House was sent abroad by President Wilson and a notice issued by the State Department requesting the newspapers to refrain from commenting on the movements of the President's personal representative. "I dread Colonel House going abroad," said Senator Lodge. "This is what you can call secret, furtive diplomacy." The United States had been in the war for more than eighteen months when on November 11, 1918, the armistice was signed and soon thereafter it became known the President had decided to head the American delegation to the Paris peace conference. The Senator was wholly out of sympathy with the Presidential policy of participation in the conference. He feared loss of national dignity and prestige. "The ruler of every great nation concerned is represented by his Prime Minister. The President of the United States is dealing with subordinates," said he. Nor did the personnel of the American commission meet his approval. "The President has appointed himself four times and Henry White!" was his comment when it was announced that besides the

President the American commissioners were Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Colonel House, Major-General Tasker H. Bliss, and Henry White, who had been American Ambassador to Italy and France.

The general provisions of the combined treaty of peace and League covenant were known in advance of the actual submission of the document to the United States Senate. In February, 1919, Senator Lodge stated the legislative procedure he had in mind. "We will ratify the treaty of peace at once," said he, "and discuss the League of Nations afterward." But the covenant of the League was so tied in with the treaty provisions it was impossible to divide the document.

In March, 1919, a resolution was presented to the Senate by Senator Lodge signed by thirty-seven Republican Senators which came to be known as the "Second Declaration of Independence." This resolution recited in its preamble the constitutional function of the Senate as the coördinate treaty-making power of the Government and the fact of the presenta-

tion to the Paris Peace Conference of a proposed constitution for a League of Nations. The resolution read:

"*Resolved by the Senate of the United States in the discharge of its constitutional duty of advice in regard to treaties, That it is the sense of the Senate that while it is their sincere desire that the nations of the world should unite to promote peace and general disarmament, the constitution of the League of Nations in the form now proposed to the peace conference should not be accepted by the United States: and be it*

"*Resolved further, That it is the sense of the Senate that the negotiation on the part of the United States should immediately be directed to the utmost expedition of the urgent business of negotiating peace terms with Germany satisfactory to the United States and to the nations with whom the United States is associated in the war against the German Government, and that the proposal for a league of nations to insure the permanent peace of the world should be then taken up for careful and serious consideration.*"

The name of Senator Lodge headed the

list of the signers of this resolution which the Senate under its rules could not receive. The document served the purpose, however, of proclaiming the unalterable opposition of more than one-third of the Senate to the League of Nations in the form then proposed.

The treaty and covenant was transmitted to the Senate by the President on July 10, 1919, eight months almost to a day from the signing of the armistice, and referred immediately to the committee on foreign relations of which Senator Lodge was chairman. While the treaty was before the Senate he handled his slender majority with great skill and without loss of prestige or serious criticism from his own side of the chamber. He was not an "isolationist." He was willing the United States should be in a League of Nations if American rights and American sovereignty were preserved. Important influences urged an immediate settlement of the controversy. Some of the Senator's best and oldest friends pressed him to agree to milder reservations than those he had proposed. With the demands of

the group of bankers whose plans for the refinancing of Europe were delayed by the failure of the United States to make a formal peace, he lost all patience. To the representatives of these interests he talked plainly. He told them that the system under which a few big men in the country could manipulate Congress to suit themselves had gone out of date; that he knew international bankers were trying to force immediate ratification of the peace treaty because they had planned a coup through a combination to finance continental Europe, out of which they expected profits of untold millions. "Tell your friends," he said to the agent of one banking house who came to Washington to see him, "that the day has passed when financial magnates or railroad magnates or any other kind of magnates can shut themselves in their offices and issue orders to Senators and Representatives and public officials; tell them that their insistence in this matter is driving conservatives in the Senate into the arms of the radicals and that if they continue this course the time will come

when the great financial interests will want and need legislation and be unable to get it."

Senator Lodge regarded the treaty and covenant in the original form in which it came to the Senate from the Paris Conference as constituting a dangerous alliance dominated by three great powers into which the United States should not enter. The sole purpose of the amendments and reservations which he attached was to guard American rights and American sovereignty. For the committee on foreign relations he reported to the Senate on September 10, 1919, the treaty of peace with Germany, including the covenant of the League of Nations, with certain amendments and reservations.

The most important amendments to the treaty were, first, the one designed to secure to the United States voting strength in the league assembly equal to that of any other power; second, an amendment to restore to China the German lease and rights in the Province of Shantung which the Paris treaty gave to Japan. The reservations

proposed to the covenant of the league were four in number:

1. Unconditional right of the United States to withdraw from the league.

2. A reservation to Article 10 by which the United States declined to assume any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to permit American soldiers or sailors to be sent to fight in other lands at the bidding of a league of nations.

3. Exclusive right of the United States to decide what questions are within its own domestic jurisdiction.

4. Preservation of the Monroe Doctrine from any interference or interpretation by foreign powers.

Following a debate in the Senate, running over a period of more than two months, Senator Lodge secured the adoption of the reservations as reported from the committee. On November 19, 1919, the question being on the ratification of the treaty, Senator Lodge and thirty-three Republicans and seven Democrats voted in the affirmative. Thirty-eight Democrats and thirteen

Republicans, a total of more than one-third of the Senate, voted against ratification. Another attempt was made on March 19, 1920, to secure ratification. Again Senator Lodge and a majority of the Republicans in the Senate voted in the affirmative, and again a majority of the Democratic Senators and a minority of the Republicans joined in voting in the negative. For the second time the treaty failed of the two-thirds vote required under the constitution for ratification. The position of Senator Lodge on the League of Nations was consistent. He early announced his opposition unless changes were made that would preserve the safety and independence of his country. When reservations bringing this to pass had been adopted he voted to ratify the treaty each time that question was before the Senate.

In the outcome of this controversy he never lost faith. To a friend in Massachusetts who had sent him a word of encouragement and who asked how the League fight was progressing he wrote confidently, quoting Clough's hopeful lines:

"For while the tired waves vainly breaking
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back through creek and inlet making
Comes silent flooding in, the main."

CHAPTER XI

Leadership in National Conventions

I

Activities in Party Councils

Mr. Lodge was elected a district delegate in 1880 to the Republican National Convention of that year and thereafter was influential in the national councils of his party. He was a delegate in each national convention from 1880 to 1924 except in 1888, 1892, and 1912. He sat, therefore, as a member of nine of the twelve conventions held in that period. Three times, in 1900, in 1908, and in 1920, he was permanent chairman and in 1920 also temporary chairman. He was chairman of the committee on resolutions in 1904 and in 1916, and was elected eight times as a delegate-at-large and once as a district delegate. In 1896 he placed Thomas B. Reed of Maine, the Speaker of the House, in nomination for the presidency; in 1908 he presented the

name of Governor Curtis Guild of Massachusetts for the nomination for vice-president; in 1916 he nominated Senator John W. Weeks of Massachusetts for president.

It was in recognition of his services in the State campaign of the preceding year that Mr. Lodge was sent as a delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention of 1884. He was in distinguished company. Senator George Frisbie Hoar, ex-Governor John D. Long and William W. Crapo were the other delegates-at-large from Massachusetts. With Senator Hoar he was to travel far in friendly companionship on the political highway. The popular ex-governor he met at infrequent intervals and in no important crisis of his own public life; Mr. Crapo crossed his path only once nine years later, as a rival aspirant for the United States Senate.

Mr. Lodge was spokesman in this convention for the element that sought to recognize the colored Republicans of the South in the election of a temporary chairman. Following custom, the National Committee

made its recommendation in ex-Governor Powell M. Clayton of Arkansas, an armless veteran of the Civil War. Mr. Lodge was chosen to present the name of John R. Lynch, a former colored member of Congress from Mississippi, whom he described in a brief nominating speech as well known throughout the South for his conspicuous parliamentary ability, for his courage and his character. Mr. Lynch was elected. Theodore Roosevelt was also in the convention as a delegate from New York, and it is interesting to note that it was on his motion and insistence the vote was taken, not by states, but by a call of the individual members of each delegation. "Let no man be able to shelter himself behind the shield of his state!" cried this political stripling, thus early proclaiming the principle that no man in the public life of America should have secrets from the American people.

Mr. Lodge was not on the winning side in the contest for the nomination of a Presidential candidate. He voted for Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont, but in the campaign stood loyally by the

ill-starred candidacy of James G. Blaine, and faced the distrust and persecution that threatened to destroy him politically. In succeeding years New England presented, at various times, a favorite son for convention honors. Speaker Reed failed of the nomination in 1896; Ex-Governor Long of Massachusetts and other pre-convention aspirants for the vice-presidency in 1900 gave way to Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Long's candidacy, upon which it was understood McKinley and his immediate advisers did not look with disfavor, could make no headway against the sentiment for the rough-riding Governor of the Empire State. But it was not Theodore Roosevelt's mentor who either created a sentiment or guided the delegates. The nomination of Roosevelt was ordained when the convention assembled. To a popular demand that found expression with Republicans in every section of the country was added the purpose of the New York Republican leaders to rid themselves of Roosevelt by shelving him in the vice-presidency.

In the national Convention of 1908,

Senator Lodge temporarily relinquished his place as permanent chairman to place Curtis Guild, Jr., the Governor of Massachusetts, in nomination for vice-president. It was a forlorn hope. Not only was the delegation lukewarm in the cause of the Governor but there was little if any chance that the Republicans at that time would go to Massachusetts for their candidate for vice-president. Unlike the gathering of twelve years later, when the name of another Massachusetts Governor swept a Republican National Convention off its feet, there was not in the progressive administration of Curtis Guild the single outstanding issue or event to warrant an appeal to political emotion or to sanction an adventure into the realm of political psychology. Practical politics prevailed and in selecting Congressman James S. Sherman of New York the vice-presidential nomination went to a politically doubtful state.

In the Convention of 1908, as permanent chairman, Senator Lodge was in the key position when the convention organized for business. Trusted friends of President

Roosevelt were assigned to important convention places not only to guard against a threatened stampede of the delegates to the President, but to assure the nomination of the man he alone had chosen as his successor. Senator Lodge spoke as the recognized representative of the President. He said: "The President retires by his own determination. . . . His refusal . . . dictated by the loftiest motives and a noble loyalty to American traditions is final. . . . Anyone who attempts to use his name as a candidate for the presidency impugns both his sincerity and his good faith. . . . The President has refused what his countrymen would gladly have given him; he says what he means and means what he says, and his party and his country will respect his wishes as they honor his high character and great public service."

The Convention nominated William Howard Taft on the first ballot.

II

Roosevelt's Choice for President

In 1916 Senator Lodge was suggested by Theodore Roosevelt as a compromise nominee for president on whom the regular and the progressive wings of the party might well unite. But before this word was received from Oyster Bay the Convention had taken two ballots on each of which Mr. Hughes was the leading candidate. Senator Lodge had placed the name of his colleague, Senator John W. Weeks of Massachusetts, before the delegates in a strong, well balanced and effective speech. Unfortunately the Massachusetts delegation was divided. The importance and significance of the vote for Weeks was its distribution, support coming from twenty states other than his own and from Alaska and Hawaii. On the second ballot there were further defections in Massachusetts, and before the third ballot Mr. Weeks withdrew his name. Mr. Roosevelt was in constant communication with the regular and Progressive party leaders by telephone and

telegraph, urging a reunion of the Republican and Progressive forces. On the fourth day of the convention, Mr. Roosevelt sent his belated message to the Progressive conferees urging the nomination of Senator Lodge. In this communication to his Progressive party friends Mr. Roosevelt defined the issues vital to the national life to be a unified Americanism and national preparedness. "The nomination of Senator Lodge will meet those vital needs. I earnestly ask that what you can do to bring about that nomination in the name of our common Americanism be done," the message ran. This was read to the Republican Convention just before the call of the roll for the third ballot. Whatever chance there might have been for an eleventh hour swing to Senator Lodge was lost, however, when it was announced that the Progressive Convention had laid Mr. Roosevelt's communication on the table.

During the calling of the roll for the third and decisive ballot, there was some delay in the Massachusetts delegation which was explained by Governor McCall in these words:

Mr. Chairman, the delay in the action of the Massachusetts delegation has been caused by the interesting communication that has been made to the convention by our committee of conference. That was the first time our delegation knew of the proposed action. While we should be very glad to support the brilliant son of Massachusetts whose name has been presented by Colonel Roosevelt, yet there is no temptation presented to which the delegates from Massachusetts may yield because the action of this convention has already been clearly indicated, so I announce the vote of the delegation — Massachusetts casts one vote for Weeks, three for Roosevelt, and thirty-two for Hughes.

So disappeared the chance Massachusetts then had for the major honor of a Republican national convention. The wide-spread support in the country for Senator Weeks found no encouragement to stand by a house divided against itself; and Theodore Roosevelt waited forty-eight hours too long before he took the politicians assembled at Chicago fully into his confidence as to his second choice for the presidency.

III

At Chicago in 1920

Before the assembling of the Republican national convention in 1920, Senator Lodge was known to favor the nomination of General Leonard Wood, although he expected to vote for Governor Coolidge on the early ballots. But General Wood was his first choice. He did not believe the selection of a candidate for president from New England with a purely local background was "on the cards," as he expressed it. He regarded General Wood, although a native of New Hampshire, with a residence in Massachusetts, as a citizen-at-large of the nation.

The success of Senator Harding in the convention was wholly unlooked for by Senator Lodge during the period of the primary activities. He liked and respected his colleague from Ohio, but he was led to believe that Senator Harding's hostility to Theodore Roosevelt in the campaign of 912 would lose him thousands of Progressive votes. Prominent former Progressives

played on this string and succeeded in convincing him that the defection of the "bull moose" if Senator Harding was the Republican nominee would endanger the success of the national ticket.

The stage was being set for the quadrennial national political drama and from his home in Nahant, to which he had immediately returned after the Chicago convention, Senator Lodge watched the political developments of the weeks preceding the actual ringing up of the curtain. The Democratic National Convention was in session in San Francisco, while Mr. Harding was meeting leading Republicans from various parts of the country and planning his campaign. One of his earliest conferences was with young Theodore Roosevelt, who laid the ghost of the threatened progressive bolt by pledging the support of the Roosevelt family to the Republican ticket. In a letter to a Washington friend dated at Nahant, June 30, Senator Lodge made some observations on the political situation the accuracy of which was borne out by subsequent events.

He wrote:

My best thanks for your letter of the 28th. I receive such quantities of letters which simply tell me something I already know or something I do not care to know that to get a letter like yours, which is to me full of interest and tells me things I want very much to know, is very comforting. I am particularly interested in what you tell me about Marion. The opinion of a man held by his neighbors means a good deal. It is going to spread through the country.

I am still more interested, of course, in what you tell me about young Theodore Roosevelt. I was very glad to see in the papers what was said about his interview with Senator Harding. Young Theodore's support and the support of all Colonel Roosevelt's family really means a great deal. So does the Hoover support. Senator Harding saw Hoover the day after I left and told me he had an appointment with him. Hoover will influence a great many people throughout the country who hold but lightly to party organizations; in fact I think one principal attraction of Hoover to them

was that he was not identified strongly with any party.

At San Francisco they seem to be doing just what I anticipated and also hoped. They are making it an out and out Wilson convention. The President has a more complete control than ever I expected. We shall get a League plank there that will make our issue, I think, perfectly clear; and if we cannot win on that issue, then the country has fundamentally changed and is ready for a very cheap autocracy, of which we have been having a sample.

I have the feeling the McAdoo candidacy would make the issue clear. Our strongest issue is the fight on the Wilson Administration and all it means, and McAdoo is next to the President himself, is part of the dynasty, and a thorough-going representative of all that Wilson represented. I think that Harding and Coolidge are steadily gathering strength. It is evident now that the Democrats and the Democratic newspapers are wholly unable to find any ground to attack either of our candidates on their character or on their past. They are perfectly upright and clean men.

The spirit of content with the ticket is growing here, but of course this is but a corner, and I think the ticket will be very strong in this Eastern part of the country, both in New York and New England. It is evident from their treatment of Marshall on the Committee that they do not mean to let him be nominated and I doubt very much if they turn to Davis, an excellent man, but after all very little known and at the moment Ambassador in England. Moreover, I do not think he is a very thorough-going Wilsonian, not the type the President likes.

After I had been home here and perfectly quiet for about a week I began for the first time to realize that I was pretty tired, and it is very comforting to me down here at Nahant and out of the turmoil for a little while. I shall have to go to Marion to make the formal announcement to Harding as I am Chairman of the Notification Committee, but until then I am going to keep very still indeed.

As chairman of the convention, Senator Lodge was also chairman of the notification committee. He went to Marion several weeks after the nomination, for the notifica-

tion ceremonies, supremely confident of Harding's election.

IV

Loyal to the End

Unmindful of the distinguished service Senator Lodge had given to his country and to his party, the Massachusetts delegation to the Convention of 1924 practically ignored him in Cleveland. He had offended by refusing to sustain the veto of President Coolidge of the Soldiers' Bonus bill, a measure for which he had voted, and to which he had pledged his support in his campaign for election in 1922. The Senator displayed neither resentment nor disappointment. He told some of his friends that the delegation could give him no honor he had not already received many times and that he was content to play no part at all. He attended meetings of the delegation and was present at all sessions of the Convention. But he did not have a leading part in the proceedings at any stage. The treatment he received at Cleveland does not appear to have lessened his interest

in the success of the party. He returned to Massachusetts and was operated on for what proved to be a fatal malady. During the period of seeming convalescence he was not uninformed of what was going on in the outside world. He expressed hope and confidence of a Republican victory at the November election. He wrote few letters at this time. One to a friend in Washington, dated August 20, 1924, in reply to a congratulatory note on his apparent recovery, contained this paragraph:

I have not been able to follow politics very much but I fail to get the impression of any enthusiasm for Mr. Davis. I hear from the West that La Follette is strong there, but Senator Capper writes me that he will be badly beaten in Kansas and that Coolidge is certain to carry the State. I am interested in what you say about the reception of the President's speech, which I thought very strong and statesmanlike. The danger of Bryan becoming President may not be very great but it is a real danger and the sure way to prevent it, of course, is to give Coolidge a sure majority of the electoral vote.

He was not to know that his hopes in the elections of 1924 were to be fully realized and that the returns would carry the reasonable assurance the new Senate would have at least something better than a Republican paper majority. On the night of November 4, he had been told by Mr. Charles F. Redmond, his confidential secretary, of the election of a Republican Senator in his own state and also of the overwhelming popular endorsement of the Republican national ticket. He became unconscious the morning following and never knew the full extent of his party's victory.

CHAPTER XII

Leadership in the Senate

In 1918 Senator Lodge was vested with the leadership of his party in the United States Senate. This he held until his death. Few members of the Senate in its history served on a greater number of committees of major importance. He was on the finance committee for ten years, on the committee on naval affairs thirteen years, on the committee on immigration for twenty-four years, and at two different periods its chairman; he was chairman of the committee on the Philippines in 1900 immediately following the war with Spain, at a time when the policy of the United States in regard to its new insular possessions was a matter of wide-spread public discussion and controversy. His most notable and longest continuous service was on the committee on foreign relations to which he was first appointed in 1896 and of which he became chairman in 1919.

The leadership of his party came to him when Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire died. For some years Mr. Lodge had been regarded by many of his Republican colleagues as the real leader. Senator Gallinger retained the title but he relied on the greater physical vigor of his younger associate from Massachusetts. In Senator Gallinger's declining years the Republicans were in the minority and there was little occasion for the exercise of Republican leadership in either branch of Congress, save to keep the party record straight. The Sixty-sixth Congress found a Republican majority of two in the Senate and Mr. Lodge was unanimously selected by the Republican conference as its chairman, thus becoming the majority leader of the Senate.

He was selected by President Harding as one of the four delegates to represent the United States at the Conference for the Limitation of Armament which met in Washington in November, 1921. His long experience and familiarity with international affairs especially qualified him for this service. He welcomed with gratitude

and high hope the opportunity to serve his country and to promote the peace of the world. Six treaties were negotiated and later ratified by the Senate. In addition to the limitation of naval armament the most important is the so-called "four-power" treaty. This treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan relates to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific Ocean. To the suggestion that the four-power Pacific treaty constituted an "alliance" of doubtful expedience for the United States, President Harding, in transmitting the treaties to the Senate, had said: "The four-power treaty contains no war commitment. . . There is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no written or moral obligation to join in defense, no expressed or implied commitment to arrive at any agreement except in accordance with our constitutional methods." In the Senate on March 8, 1922, Senator Lodge in a forceful speech made it plain that if the four-power treaty failed the other conference agreements must fail also, or remaining,

be but empty shells. The work of the Washington Conference, if the treaties had failed in the Senate, would have been of no immediate effect. The prompt ratification was a splendid tribute to the diligence and leadership of Senator Lodge. The three objectives of the American delegates — termination of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, reduction of naval armament, aid to China including the restoration of the Province of Shantung — were attained.

Seniority of service, his personal distinction, gift of oratory, and recognized political leadership — these had served to place Senator Lodge apart, in a sense, from his colleagues, although many of them were also men of great ability and reputation. He was, therefore, alike the target for attack from the floor when the Senate divided on a political issue, and the one the curious eyes of the galleries, to which he never played, always sought to identify. He spoke at all times easily and without effort, certainly without wasted effort. He was as great a stylist with the spoken as the written word. His voice was clear, his

enunciation precise, his gestures few. There was no "letting down," no physical exhaustion when he had concluded a speech. The labor of preparation must have been exacting, but the actual delivery stimulated him mentally and physically. And always in debate he was sure of himself — he held his own under all circumstances. His mind worked quickly, he was never caught off guard and was at his best when the storm was at its height. The American Senate, notwithstanding the dignity of its traditions, its restrictive rules, and the veneer of "senatorial courtesy," is no place for the timorous or the uncertain or the weak. Nothing delighted him more than to meet in debate those whom he esteemed and whose abilities he recognized. On occasion, however, he was indifferent and indulged a habit of drifting out of the chamber and the range of fire, appearing to reserve the right to accept or reject an antagonist. To many who were spectators at the forensic battles of the last ten years he displayed, on the whole, a not indiscriminating judgment in that respect. No citizen of

Massachusetts looking down from the galleries ever had need to fear the prestige of the State would suffer when Senator Lodge took the floor.

With the war in progress the voice of the Senator was raised for the preservation and security of modern civilization; at its close the safeguarding of the political integrity of his own country found in him a vigilant and tireless advocate. He was as practical as he was patriotic in his public service. Not swayed by the zephyrs of a temporary current opinion in which he found it impossible to concur, he did not bend even when these assumed the proportions of a hurricane. So he was by voice and vote against the "isms" and most of the political reforms suggested by those who professed an unselfish concern in the body politic. He did not approve the system of direct nominations as a substitute for nominations by political conventions; nor the election of United States Senators by the people instead of their accredited representatives in the legislatures of the several states; nor in the extension of the suffrage

to the women of the land; nor in national prohibition. These all came to pass over his protest. There is a reasonable doubt whether or not these constitutional changes will contribute permanently to progress and better government.

"We have so many new movements just now," he wrote shortly before the presidential primaries of 1912, "designed to overthrow the politicians and put other politicians in their places!"

With barely a majority he set to work to organize the Senate in 1919, an undertaking which required the greatest skill and diplomacy. On the Republican side of the chamber were various types of Republicans and schools of political thought. These had to be reckoned with and differences reconciled. The world war was coming to a close. A period of reconstruction and readjustment was ahead. A Democratic and a Republican Congress, with commendable forgetfulness of partisanship, had enacted the legislation necessary to a successful prosecution of the war. When the United States entered the war the

Republicans had taken their cue from Senator Lodge, who had said that for him politics "ended at the water's edge."

Following the 1922 elections, he was the leader of a Senate majority in name only. The Republicans were nominally in control, but on the Republican side sat the Farmer-Labor senators from North Dakota and these, together with Senator La Follette of Wisconsin and his group of friends, held a balance of power. The "bloc" functioned. Republican leadership in the Senate in 1922–23, particularly to one who had been a party disciplinarian, was a more or less thankless task. There was doubtless some consolation in the thought that the next man could have done no better.

The war over, he saw no reason for further agreement in the program of the Democratic party. Between President Wilson and Senator Lodge there was dislike and distrust not difficult to understand. Both were intellectuals in politics. Each was serious minded. The saving sense of humor, so far as the other was concerned, was lost. Even statesmen of radically

divergent views may get on amicably if they can laugh at or with one another. The Senator asked no favors of the President and wanted none. President Wilson finally counted on the certain hostility of the Massachusetts Senator to anything the White House might suggest and, for the most part, his expectations were realized. Month by month the chasm widened. Wilson went out of office on the fourth of March, 1921, and it became the duty of Senator Lodge, as the majority leader and chairman of a Senate committee, to wait formally on the President, who had come to the Capitol, according to custom, and to announce that the Senate was ready to receive him for the inauguration of his successor. The meeting was dramatic. Each was exceedingly formal. Their eyes met for an instant only. Senator Lodge was cold and reserved, the President, his face a trifle flushed, was equally reserved. Each thereafter went his way. The President to the seclusion of the home he had purchased in Washington, and which was soon to become, so long as he lived, a shrine for

his admirers from all over the country; the Massachusetts Senator to take a firmer grip on the reins of government and to continue until death claimed him, a directing force in the household of his own political faith.

CHAPTER XIII

The Ways of Friendship

The career of Senator Lodge in the Senate is marked by the endearing and kindly word spoken of his colleagues, sometimes in prepared eulogy, but often extempot raneously. He differed widely on mose public questions with those who sat on ths other side of the Senate chamber, but his Democratic associates, with few exceptions, had a personal fondness for the Republican leader. That was also true of the radical statesmen of his own party, with some of whom he had been long associated in public life. There was a pleasant personal relationship between Senator Lodge and Senator La Follette, unaffected by differing political views. "I should hate to see Cabot defeated," said Senator La Follette, when the campaign of 1922 was at its height. "I don't suppose we have agreed on anything for years but he and I were boys

together in the House. When you have lived with the man as many years as that you can't help liking him, even though you may have often fought him."

It was many years before the animosities created as a result of the Federal Elections or Force Bill died away, especially in the South, and particularly so far as Mr. Lodge, personally, was concerned. His oration on John C. Calhoun in connection with the presentation of Calhoun's statue in 1910 dispelled the feeling in a measure, and the friendships he formed with distinguished senators from Southern states helped overcome long-standing prejudices. He was one of the eulogists of Senator Bacon of Georgia and also of Senator Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina. Lodge and Tillman were as unlike in birth, breeding and education as two men in the Senate could well be, besides being on opposite political sides, but they acquired a mutual respect and admiration and a strong liking for each other. The fire-eating Tillman, knowing that his days on earth were numbered, requested that Senator Lodge

be one of the speakers when the exercises in memory of him were held.

His eulogy of an associate was neither commonplace nor perfunctory. He knew that those who make their mark upon their time are certain to meet with censure and misunderstanding, but that there was a moment when, in his own words, "all that is best in a man's life and work should be set forth without deduction, free alike from the sharpness of the contemporary critic or the cold balancing of the future historian." As his service lengthened, antagonisms of earlier years softened. Many of the Senator's contemporaries, themselves within sight of the "eternal rifle pits," were ready to forget past differences. Younger men came in to take the seats of the elder statesmen, and these newcomers had for the gray-haired Republican leader the regard and deference relative youth pays to age.

Belief in his friends and gratitude for sympathy, support, or a service were obvious traits in the character of Senator Lodge. These were common virtues which

he possessed and took for granted in others. He was unconsciously self-revealing when he spoke so highly of Charles Francis Adams, in a memorial address before the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1915, as a good friend and so loyal he found disloyalty hard to comprehend. No more accurate description of Senator Lodge himself could be phrased. Loyal and helpful in his own friendships, he could not conceive of disloyalty in those whom he counted his friends. Nor could it be said of him that a "friend in power was a friend lost." He would have had all his friendships lasting and when, as is almost inevitable in public life, a break came, he was unhappy and depressed. He welcomed the restoration of a broken friendship with a gratification he did not conceal. One of his last autographed letters was to a friend with whom he had marked personal differences.

Charlesgate Hospital,
Cambridge, October 29, 1924.

Dear ———:

I am not going to use the formal name in

writing to you after receiving your message of affection and kindness at such a moment. You and I in the old days have been good and sympathetic friends and I trust we shall always remain so, for you have shown an affectionate generosity to me which I can never forget, no matter what happens. My second and final operation has gone well and the doctors promise me prompt and full recovery.

With affectionate regards to your wife, believe me,

Ever yours,

(*Signed*) H. C. Lodge.

In one of the most notable Republican Convention contests in Massachusetts, his recognition of the responsibilities of friendship was the basis of an appeal before which discord and distrust vanished. Massachusetts Republicans were divided in the spring of 1908. One group believed the convention should pledge the party in Massachusetts specifically by resolution to the nomination of Taft for President; the other, of which the late Senator Crane was the leader, opposed the adoption of a resolution of that character. A serious

inter-party fight threatened. That this was averted was due wholly to Senator Lodge. He had been associated with Senator Crane, he told the Convention, in politics and in "all the ways of friendship" and his presentation of the obligations of friendship was so fine and convincing that the doubts and suspicions with which the political atmosphere was charged were swept away.

The golden thread of a singularly helpful friendship runs through the long correspondence between Senator Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt. It was Lodge who was constantly striving to exalt his friend, to lighten his burdens, to make his path easier; it was Lodge who at all times spoke the encouraging and stimulating word, who gave the well considered and timely advice or warning, as the case might be. For thirty years, Senator Lodge was the unfailing counselor and guide and, although conviction to principles caused him to withhold from Roosevelt his support in the 1912 campaign, the ties of friendship remained unbroken. Senator Lodge issued a public statement soon after Colonel

Roosevelt announced his candidacy in which he made known his views in opposition to the constitutional changes advocated by Roosevelt in his Columbus speech. "But Colonel Roosevelt and I for thirty years, and wholly apart from politics, have been close and most intimate friends," said Senator Lodge. "I must continue to oppose the policies which he urged at Columbus, but I cannot personally oppose him who has been my life-long friend, and for this reason I take no part whatever in the campaign for the Presidential nomination." Senator Lodge was instinctively democratic. Consideration for the personal privacy of others and his natural New England heritage of reserve was doubtless responsible for a manner that brought him the reputation of being unapproachable and exclusive. All his life he protested this popular conception that set him apart. To him it always remained a mystery. Once President Roosevelt, in jocular mood, suggested a solution, but the Senator remained unconvinced. As he told the story, the President and he were on one

of their customary walks in Washington. There had just appeared a magazine article in which Senator Lodge had been described as "reserved and cold," and as a "Boston Brahmin." The Senator complained to his distinguished companion that this was unjust. "I wonder why these writers persist in calling me cold, and reserved, and a Brahmin," said Mr. Lodge. "I can tell you, Cabot," promptly replied Mr. Roosevelt, showing his teeth in the famous smile. "It's because you are!"

A reportorial eye witness at the Republican National Convention in 1920, of which Senator Lodge was Chairman, giving reign to a genius for descriptive writing, saw on the platform the keynote orator:

"*The last of the Puritan grandees, aged seventy, and lithe as a boy of seventeen. . . . Aquiline, slim, sententious — distinction is in every physical contour and in every chiseled sentence of this Brahmin of the Boston Brahmins. Distinction is in the white and briefly curling locks of the man, in the pointed beard, in the black cutaway and white waistcoat. . . . Throw a cloak over Lodge's*

left shoulder and he would step into a Velasquez group in the Prado and be authentic — authentic to his finger tips."

CHAPTER XIV

His Place in Washington Life

The passing of Senator Lodge meant much more to Washington than the death of a Senator. He had become an institution in official and social circles. There was something likable, too, in the slender, erect figure, umbrella in hand in lieu of a cane, walking through the streets. He fitted into the atmosphere of the Capitol. For years he lived in the same house in Washington. That is, of itself, a bit unusual. The population of the city is shifting. Families come and go with the changing fortunes of each national election. To meet the needs of the political transients the sky-scraping apartment has been devised, and has replaced in all sections many of the substantial houses of an earlier Washington period. The Massachusetts Senator appropriately made his home on Massachusetts Avenue. The house, though small in comparison with some of the mansions that

testify to wealth and social ambition, was made wholly adequate for the purposes of its occupant. Its red brick front, the wistaria vine framing the porch, has a restful and inviting aspect through the trees on the lawn, and anticipates the interior.

Here the Senator and Mrs. Lodge dispensed a fine hospitality. It has been well said that there was no house in Washington to which the entrée was more eagerly desired. The death of Mrs. Lodge changed this in some respects. She was, with Mrs. Cameron, the wife of the Pennsylvania Senator, accorded by Henry Adams a place in the social life of the Capitol "without precedent, and without succession" as a dispenser of "sunshine over Washington." As might be expected, his library was the room in which he received his friends and where he did his work. It was like most libraries — book-shelves and easy chairs and a fireplace — a large room made comfortable. It was before this fire that many political and diplomatic questions were informally discussed. A President

of the United States was not infrequently an unexpected visitor, for Theodore Roosevelt found in the understanding companionship of Senator Lodge the stimulus he required. Friends from home, diplomats from foreign lands and statesmen — all received his sympathy and interest.

There are few men in public life in the country today who have the personal regard of the official foreigner in Washington that he had. His most intimate friends in the diplomatic circle were the late Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador, and M. Jules J. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, each of whom was a frequent visitor at the Senator's home. During the war a common interest brought an even closer contact and association with the diplomats of Europe. On his visits abroad Senator Lodge had met many of the statesmen of the foreign countries that later became involved in the war. His knowledge of the old world had not been gained from books alone, constant and wide though his range of reading was. Having an uncommonly retentive memory, he could clearly

recall incidents and events and impressions in the background of the years.

Of necessity Senator Lodge was in Washington, especially during the last years of his life, the greater part of each twelve months. There were intervals when Congress adjourned or took a recess to give the country a breathing spell. But extended and extra sessions were the rule from 1910 on, in marked contrast to the relatively easy-going days preceding. Senator Lodge would not shirk his legislative duties; so, except for a break now and then when he could steal away to his beloved Nahant or to Boston for a brief visit, he was in Washington. He entertained only informally after the death of Mrs. Lodge. His guests were his intimates in the Senate circle and a few old friends, most of whom were in official life. Hefound in his library satisfying relaxation from the exacting duties of public life. He was as proficient in French as in English and read the Greek classics in the original. A visitor would be quite as likely to find him absorbed in one as the other. With the exception of

Shakespeare there were no books he knew as well as he knew Dickens' stories, and both he constantly quoted. He enjoyed reading Dickens aloud. One of the chapters which never lost the power to amuse was the account of the election at Etansville of a member of Parliament, the absurd quarrel of the rival editors, and the other circumstances set forth in detail in Pickwick Papers. He regarded Dickens as one of the greatest geniuses in English literature and he had read and reread everything Dickens ever wrote. He felt that Dickens justified Doctor Johnson's estimate of books: "That they help us to enjoy life and teach us to endure it."

He read few newspapers. The Washington morning and evening newspapers he looked through casually and the Boston newspaper which came to his house daily he read more thoroughly. Unlike many men in public life, he did not subscribe to a clipping bureau. The changing attitude of the Washington correspondents toward him was noted as one of the interesting developments of his last years. There are several

hundred newspaper correspondents who have the privilege of the Senate and House galleries. Many felt no hesitation in going to him for information in his office at the close of the session, often calling him off the floor of the Senate. While the war was in progress and in the subsequent fight over the League of Nations, the correspondents were in the habit of seeing him in groups of a half dozen or so. He was frank in his relations with the reporters generally; with those whom he came to know well he talked without reserve. The impartial Washington observer of the *New York Times*, writing of the relations between Senator Lodge and the press gallery said:

"*The tradition of Lodge's supercilious, aristocratic bearing and coldness extended to the press galleries of Congress. That tradition was formulated in journalistic minds when Lodge entered the House. It followed him to the Senate; it persisted for more than thirty years.*

"*Not until Lodge came into his greatest prominence as leader of the opposition to the League Covenant in 1919 was it dissipated*

to any considerable degree. Then many newspaper correspondents who had never known Lodge — who had purposely avoided him in the belief that he was unapproachable and given to that patronizing manner which press men will not respect — were thrown, perforce, into direct personal contact with the Massachusetts Senator.

"They were disillusioned. They found him simple and kindly, although strong in his dislikes, and bitter toward those whose political and personal motives he questioned. They found him communicative too; helpful, full of understanding of the things they wished to know; informative, illuminating, and — to quote Henry Adams in his reference to his friend Lodge in the famous 'Education' — had the 'singular merit of interesting.' Most of them took a personal liking to this aristocratic scholar in politics."

Riding was his exercise and recreation during many of the years he passed in Washington. "My father threw me on a horse when I was ten years old," he said. And he became and remained an accomplished horseman until the gathering years

made riding a recreation in which he could no longer indulge. A love of horses and dogs was characteristic. For years he was neither without good horses nor a good dog. He had his dog in Washington, where the local regulations are hard on master and dog alike. "How he despises the ordinances," observed the Senator as he freed his favorite from the irksome restraint of the muzzle at the close of an afternoon walk. When he abandoned horseback riding, walking became his principal physical recreation. This often took him through Rock Creek Park, of the beauties of which he never tired. A long automobile ride through the country about Washington was a Sunday afternoon diversion in the later years of his life.

CHAPTER XV

Conclusion

Senator Lodge was for thirty-seven years a member of the law-making body of his country — thirty-one of these years in the Senate. During this period of service, the United States grew to be a dominant power in world affairs. In the history of that growth is closely entwined the personal history of Senator Lodge. Almost from the beginning of his public career he was a marked man and a leader. He had to take responsibility because it was thrust upon him — responsibility which he gladly bore, though the burden was by no means light. A party man, he dignified the appellation "politician," which so often has been used sneeringly. It was an appellation hurled at him by his enemies. But there are politicians and politicians. In its original definition a politician was one who knew the science of government and who served the people.

In a period of public service of such length, of a service so varied, it is with some hesitation that one seeks to lay a finger on the most distinguished. Senator Lodge, himself, regarded the contest in the Senate to prevent the entanglement of the United States in the political affairs of Europe, and in which he figured as leader, as the great issue. In his attitude on the League of Nations the impelling motive was love of country. He was arrayed against an abstract sentiment — an appealing idealism — to which a not inconsiderable element in America responded with enthusiasm. He sought only to save his country from international commitments he believed dangerous and to preserve the constitutional freedom of the United States.

His service as a member of the American delegation to the Washington Conference on Problems of the Pacific and the Limitation of Armament in 1921–22 was, after all, one of the most important which he rendered his country — and the world. If the conference had succeeded in nothing but the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

— an alliance which looked to offensive as well as defensive war — it would have been, in his opinion, of the greatest value. But it went further. It resulted in the establishment of a four-power pact, involving the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan, providing for the settlement through peaceful means of controversies arising in the Pacific. Senator Lodge was called upon to present this treaty to the Conference after it had been framed in committee, and to defend it later from attack in the Senate. It may be said that this particular part of the Washington Conference was peculiarly his work.

He was singularly fortunate in his public service and public career in that he did not have to worry over material affairs. He was secure, because of his inheritance, from the trials that a man must face as a bread winner. No one doubts that with his industry, his intellect, his courage and firmness of purpose that he would have made a success had his career been laid along other lines. He had the stamina requisite to success. He had enormous

capacity for work, and he was enabled by fortunate circumstance, to use this capacity for his country.

In his youth divided in purpose as to writing history or making it as a statesman, Senator Lodge succeeded in both. During his public life he wrote continually. The library of the United States Senate contains some thirty volumes of his published works. These include biographies, histories, essays and volumes of his addresses and speeches made in the Senate and elsewhere. Before he entered the Senate he published lives of Alexander Hamilton, of Daniel Webster, and of Washington. He brought in his service to Congress a knowledge of the history of his country possessed by few statesmen of his or any other time. His literary work was not limited to historical and political subjects. The intimate story of his early formative years was published in 1913 and from a sick room in the same year came the "Diversions of a Convalescent," which appeared in *Scribner's* and held the singular charm of "Early Memories."

While literature and writing became

an avocation with him he also gave his attention to the arts and sciences. He was interested in the advances which science constantly made. A phase of his public service not so widely known was as a member of the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution, the government's agency which deals more particularly with the sciences and with art. For years he took an intelligent interest in the work of this institution, and at the close of his career visualized the creation of a great National Gallery of Art under its auspices which should be an honor and an ornament to the nation.

Of all his attributes, none stands out with greater prominence than courage. He has been pictured as cold and hard as a piece of tempered steel, but he was as true. If exteriorly he lacked in human warmth to the crowd, at least he made up for this in the strength and endurance for the things in which he believed. It may be said of him that he became a statesman, but first he was a man.

His public service was, as he said, all

public. No material personal interest ever influenced his position on a public question. He declined great offices to serve his country and his State as a Senator. The proudest words he ever uttered were those that stirred the emotions of a great gathering of his own people in Boston:

"I am a Senator of the United States!"

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